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PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

OF THE

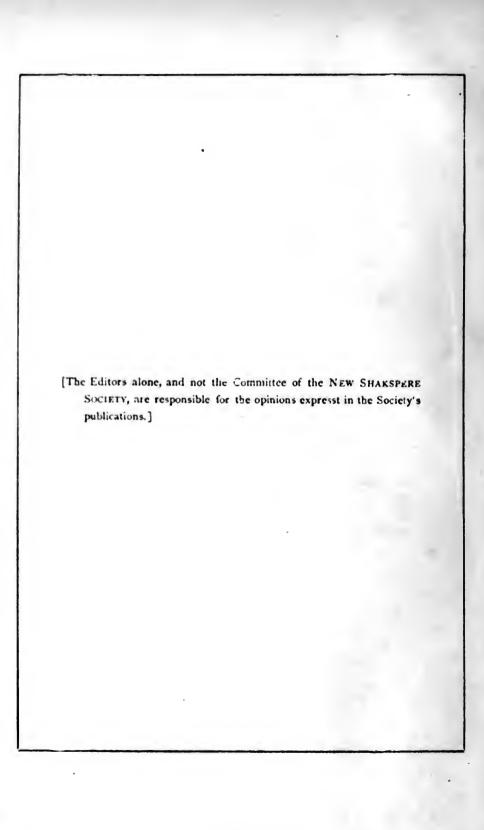
ABUSES IN ENGLAND

18

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART L



New Shake pere society

Ser. 6 Shakespere

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

OF THE

ABUSES IN ENGLAND

18

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART L

(COLLATED WITH OTHER EDITIONS IN 1583, 1585, AND 1595.)

WITH EXTRACTS FROM STUBBES'S LIFE OF HIS WIFE, 1994,
AND HIS PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE, 1999 (1910),
AND BP. BABINGTON ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, 15/90;

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS FIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)

REGNUM PAPISMI, or POPISH KINGDOMP, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 157%)

ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1555.

35316

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspere Society

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TO

Professor Kobalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT,

PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

GENEROUS NATION WHO GAVE THEIR BLOOD AND TREASURE TO FREE BULGARIA,
AND WHO WOULD HAVE

FREED MORE FOLK, HAD NOT SELFISH ENGLISH SHOPMEN STOPT THEM,

THIS BOOK

OF AN ENGLISHMAN WHO BELIEVE IN GOD, AND CAR'D FOR CHRISTIANS MORE THAN TURKS.

Es Pedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



Cut at the back of the Colophon of the 2nd (Aug. 1, 1583) and 3rd (1584) editions of the Anatomie. See p. 60°, note 2.

CONTENTS.

I,	
WOODCUTS OF ELIZABETHAN DRESS, from Planche's Hist. of Costume and the Roxburghe Ballads, with Mr. Ebsworth's	PAGE
Memorandum on the latter	11.
FOREWORDS (see the Contents of em, p. 35°)	35*
APPENDIX: Extracts from Bp. Babington, 1588	75°
Some Collations, and Title, of the Anatomic, ed. 1584 (C-1))	95*
II.	
The Anatomic of Abuses: 1 Maij. 1583 (A), collated with	
three other editions, (B) 1 Aug. 1583; (E) 1585; (F) 1595	i
The Epistle Dedicatorie, to Phillip, Earle of Arundell	iiı
A Preface to the Reader (left out of all editions after the 1st)	x
Poems:	
a. Phillippus Stubeus candido Lectori	xiv
b. C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations	xv
c. A. D. In commendation of the Author and his Booke	xvii
d. I. F. In commendation of the Avthor and his Booke	xviii
e. (Ph. Stubbes). The Avthor and his Booke	xix
CHAPTER I. ¹ Introductory: The 2 Speakers, Spudeus and Philoponus (Stubbes) Stubbes's Travels about England (21-2); England described:	21-26
its people the wickedest on the earth (23), their sin coming from the Devil (24); Stubbes's grief at it (25), and attempt to do them good by laying bare their abuses and enormities (26).	
CHAPTER II.	
A particuler Description of PRIDE, the principall Abuse; and how manifold it is in AILONA (England) Three sorts of Pride: of the Heart, of the Mouth, of Apparel (27-8). How these Three are committed (28-30). Foreigners don't change their dress (31): 'no People in the World is so curiouse in new fangles as they of (England) be' (32), or like	26-49
1 The chapters are not numberd in the 1st edition, and sometimes not divid in chap, vii. on Covetousness, p. 114.	ol, as

'far-(etcht & dear-bought' so well (33). Our Mingle-mangle of Apparel (34). Men of birth and office only should wear fine clothes (35). Dress was first given to cover our shame (36); tho' we're not bound to wear leather', like Adam (37-8). God regards not Attire (39). The pretence that setting forth God's Glory (40), or gaining acceptance with wise men (41) is a reason for fine Clothes. Reverence is due to Virtue, not to Apparel (42-3). Apparel and Pride can't be separated (44). The Godly (45) and the Heathen Greeks, &c. (46), despisd Apparel (47); as did the Prophets and the Early Church (48). We are outrageously extravagant in it (49).

CHAPTER III.

A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees. Men's Dress

49-62

Men's Hats, their many shapes, bands, and materials (50); no Bands, but Feathers (51). Ruffs (51), and their two stays, Starch and Supportasses. Workt Bands (52). Ruffs called 'Three Steppes and a halfe to the Gallowes.' Wrought Shirts (53). Our pamperd bodies grow weak (54). Monstrous big-bellid Doublets (55). Hose, French, Gally, and Venetian (56). Nether-stockes, clockt stockings (57). Corkt Shoes, and Pantofles (57-8). Coats and Jerkins (58-9). Neglect of the miserable Poor, who die in the streets like dogs (59: see too p. 105, 116). Turkish cruelty of the English rich to the poor (60). Cloaks short and long (60-1). Boot-hose, from L4 to L10 (61), gewgaws to feed the wanton cyes of gazing fools (62). Rapiers, Swords and Daggers, in Velvet Sheaths. The Day of Judgment (62).

CHAPTER IV.

A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens Apparell in Ailgna (England), and other Naughtinesses. Fainting their Faces (64-7), as Harlots do (65). The Fathers denounce this (65-6). Tricking their Heads, propping their hair with wires, hanging bugles, &c., on it (67). Wearing sham Hair, and Dyeing their Hair (68). Hoods, Hats, Caps and Cawls (69). Making holes in their ears to wear jewels in (70). Ruffs, starcht and supportast (70). Minor Ruffs; Ruff-Skirts ornamented (71). Fearful example of the Ruff-wearing Woman of Antwerp, whose neck the Devil

63-89

1 "Since leathern Adam, till this youngest hour," 1596. Edward III, II. ii. 120.

PAGE

broke (71-3). Doublets and Terkins like men's: a curse on them for it (73). Gowns, Capes, Petticoats (74); Kirtles (75). Women are bundles of Clouts. Poor men's daughters' love of Finery (75), makes them Whores (76). Stockings of all colours (76), Corkt Shoes and Slippers: Perfumes (77); Nosegays in their Bosoms: Scents, &c., allurements to vice (78). Women's Mincing, Tripping (78), Rings, Armlets, scented Gloves, Looking-Glasses (Devil's Bellows), Silk Scarfs (79), Visors, Masks (80). Inventors of new Fashions denounct (80-1). Heathen women, German women, &c., despise fine Dress (81-2), so did Christian Women (83). God's punishments of Pride (84-6). Englishmen dress to please their Harlots (86-7), -[Added in 2nd edition] How English Women spend their days in idleness and sin (87). The Gardens they meet their Paramours in (88), are little better than Brothels (89).

CHAPTER V.

The horryble vice of Wherdome in Ailgna (England) ... 90-102
The justifiers of whoredom denounc't (90), Marriage alone lawful (91). Heathens (92), and the Bible (93-5) against whoredom. Bodily evils of it (95-6). Every Englishman has bastards (96). Marriages of mere infants. Every boy huggles his pretty pussy, and runs-up a cottage (97). Early marriage should be restraind (97), and whoredom punisht (98) by branding with a hot iron (99). Judgments on W. Brustar and his whore (100). Wives are whores, and Husbands keep whores (101).

CHAPTER VI.

Gluttonie and Drunkennesse in Ailgna (England) 102-114

The English given to too many dishes and sauces (102). In

Stubbes's father's time, and earlier, men livd plainlier: We're weaker folk¹ (103). The Bible against Gluttony (104). Small relief of the poor now: 3 cankers of the Commonwealth, 'daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and sumptuous Apparel' (105). Food and health of the Poor: dainties and diseases of the Rich (106). Drunkenness of the Maltworms in Alehouses²(107). The evils of Drunkenness (108). The Bible against it (109-10). Judgments on

Cp. Harrison's oken men, &c., Pt. I. p. viii, 337-8.
 See the Exeter Regulations about Alehouses in Mr. A. S. Hamilton's Quarter

Sessions.

PAGE

Swabian drunkards (111-13); on Dutch ones (113-14; both added in 2nd edition).

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

The Maner of sanctifying the Sabaoth in Ailgna 136-140 Plays, Lords of Misrule, Games, Bear-baitings, Fairs, Football, reading bawdy Books (137). Why the Sabbath was instituted (138). The Jews strict in keeping it (139). Its true use: prayer, and doing good (140).

CHAPTER XI.

Of Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes ... 140-150 Plays on religious subjects are Sacrilege (140-1). The Fathers, &c., against Plays (142-3). The sinful Arguments of Tragedies and Comedies (143). Curse those who say, Plays are as good as Sermons (144). The naughtinesses at The Theatre and Curtain (144). Bad things learnt at Plays (145). Players are Rogues and Vagabonds by Law (146).

CHAPTER XII.

PAUR

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna (England) 146-148

How they dress up, play the Devil's Dance in the Church, and
feast in bowers in the Churchyard (147). Their Badges,
and the Gifts they get (148).

CHAPTER XIII.

The Maner of Maie-Games in England 148-150 Folk spend the night in the woods, draw the Maypole home with oxen, and dance round it.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna (England) 150-152
The Churchwardens brew the ale, sell it in Church, and men get as drunk as Apes (150-1). They let the Churches and Bibles go to ruin (151).

CHAPTER XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

The horrible Vice of pestiferous Dauncing, vsed in Ailgna. 154-169

Dancing provokes Wantonness (154); Clipping, Kissing,
Groping, &c. (155); hurts the Body, and lames the Mind
(156). The Bible and the Fathers against Dancing (157-8).
Our Forefathers' dancing and ours compar'd (158-9). The
Israelites' dancing: not Men with Women (160-3). Our
cheek-by-cheek Dancing is 'beastly to behold '(163). Biblefolk's dancing (163-5). Our filthy Dancing must do hurt
(165). Each sex should dance by itself (166). The Fathers,
&c., against Dancing (166-9). It sprang from the teats of
the Devil's breast (169).

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to Vanitie ... 169-173

'Musick is a good gift of God,' but used for 'filthie dauncing' is bad (170). Alehouse Musicians, and Minstrels, and their bawdy Songs (171). If you want your daughter whorish,

0	-		
Cor	\mathbf{n}	ent	5

.8.

'bring her up in Music & Dancing' (171). The harm of licensing Minstrels, &c. (172).
CHAPTER XVIII.
Cards, Dice, Tables, Tennisse, Bowles, and other Exercyses vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna 173-177 These fooleries specially us'd at Christmas (173). No Christian can play for money (174). Evil of Gaming or Brothel-Houses (175). Laws, &c., against Gaming (176-7).
CHAPTER XIX.
Beare baiting and other Exercyses, vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna 177-180 These heathenish games are held on the Sabbath (177). Some men'll keep 12 or 20 mastiffs, and risk from £20 to £100 on a Bear-bait: 'fight Dog, fight Bear! the Devil part all!' (178). God's Judgment on the Bear-baiting Folks at Paris Garden, Southwark, on Sunday, Jan. 13, 1583 (179); and at The Theatre a little before (180).
CHAPTER XX.
Cockfighting, Hawking & Hunting upon the Sabbath- Day in England
CHAPTER XXI.
Markets, Fairs; Courts and Leets upon the Sabbath-Day in England 182-183 The former lead to Cheating, Lying, Drunkenness; the latter to Envy, Perjury, Pilling of the Poor.
CHAPTER XXII.
Football-playing on the Sabbath & other Days in England
CHAPTER XXIII.
The Reading of Wicked Books in England 184-186 The Bible, and Fox's Book of Martyrs are set aside for scurrilous and bawdy books (185).

CHAPTER XXIV.

III.

Extracts from Phillip Stubbes's Christal Glasse for Christian Colonen, 1591, or Life & Death of his Wife, Katherine Stubbes, who died at Burton-upon-Trent on Dec. 14, 1590 195-208 Her parentage, marriage (197), sweet and pious character (198-9); her feeling that she should die in childbirth (200). Her boy born; Ague seizes her; her gentle patience (200). Her desire to be set free (201), and to make a Confession of her Faith (202). Her Confession (mainly doctrinal, and therefore left out) (203-5).

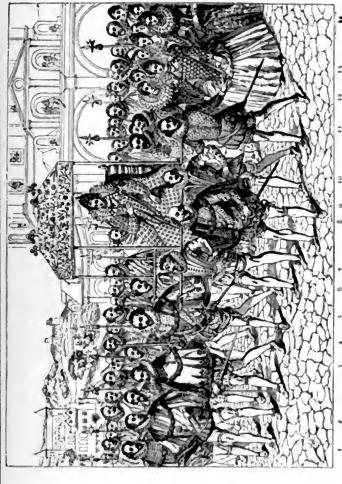
'A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule; and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of

IV.

Christ' (205-7). Her death at the age of 18 (208).

Extracts from PHILIP STUBBES'S PETITITE DATHWAY I	D
Felicitie, Containing Godlie Meditations an	D
prayers, 1592, and 1610	. 209-230
Contents of these two Editions (1592, 1610)	. 210, 212
The Epistle Dedicatorie to Mistresse Katherine Milward	9
1592	
Precepts at thy going forth of thy Chamber	. 215
Meditations in the washing of ones Face and Hands	. 215
A Praier to be said at the washing of ones Face and Hand	
Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the	
Table	. 216
A Thanks-giuing to God after Dinner	. 216
A Thanks-giging to God before Supper	. 217

10*	Contents.				
					PAGE
A Thanks-g	iuing to God after Supper	4 * *			218
49	of Christian behauiour after		• • •		218
Meditations	when thou comest into thy	Chamber			219
A Prayer wh	hen Sleepe cometh vpon one		444		220
(these fl	leas and gnats do bite & gne	itu my sk	inne,	221)	
	en one awakes out of Sleep		• • •	• • •	221
Christian D	irections for the Morning	***	• • •	•••	221
Extracts from	A Short Treatise o	(Wrai	ers a	and	
=upplicati			•••		23-230
	the Queenes Maiestie	•••			224
	r a Competent & a necessar		•••	•••	225
	be said of those that be vni			***	225
	bee said of those that be m		•••	•••	226
	be said of those that be Mas				227
			louser		227
	the time of Pestilence	•••	•••	•••	228
	be said of all such as be Mai				220
	mmon Wealth	connecs :	ind in		230
THE COL	mion weakii	***	***	***	230
	v.				
NOTES: - (Chief	f headings)	***		2	31-320
Men's Dres	s and its Absurdities	• • •			239
Women's D	ress, Face-Painting, Naked		&c.		253
Fornication	and Adultery				280
	d Drunkenness				284
Cruelty to t	he Poor, Usury, &c				283
Swearing					294
Sabbath-bro	eaking, by Bearbaiting, &c.				296
Theatres		***	•••		301
	isrule, May-games, Church-			•••	304
	orts, and Football-Playing		•••	•••	316
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	•••	•••	•••	- 3.0
	VI.				
in Germany, Kirchmaier's	pular and Popish Customs &c., in 1553: The 4th (or Naogeorgus's) "Popish	Book of	The	omas	
englisht 1570	··· ··· ··· ···	•••	•••	•••	321
	VII.				
INDEX		•••	•••	•••	349



Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfrara, June 16, 1600.

 Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden, a. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet scull cap.
Science Carry, and Lord Huandon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand.
 George Conford Fart of Cumberland.
 Steeper Brooks, An Lord Coldam, Worken of the Cinque Ports, with Second of State.
 Lord Herbert of Cardiffe.
 Edward Rawsell, and Cardiffe.
 Edward Rawsell, and Fart of Hedford; or the bridgeroom's brother Thomas.
 Lord Herbert, the Professional Responsibility of Professional Responsibility. 11. Locy Marrington. Constess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Birden. Vernes is pair, and G. Scharf, in A relayed, France, ritu. 15. The original painting by March Central to Local Releasers. Mr. Dugly's copy, 18. Starborne. Castle, Donesthur, pair the Onem's right hand under her dires, and did to the bestle is feet.





Spinster's Ruff and bare neck; Farthingale (or Crinoline). Miss Anne Russell [formerly supposed to be Lady Hunsdon]; from Virtue's print. See the Heliogravure, above. Planch!, i. 187.



Ruff Wings, &c. Queen Elizabeth. Planchi, L 146, 435-SHARSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES. A

12*





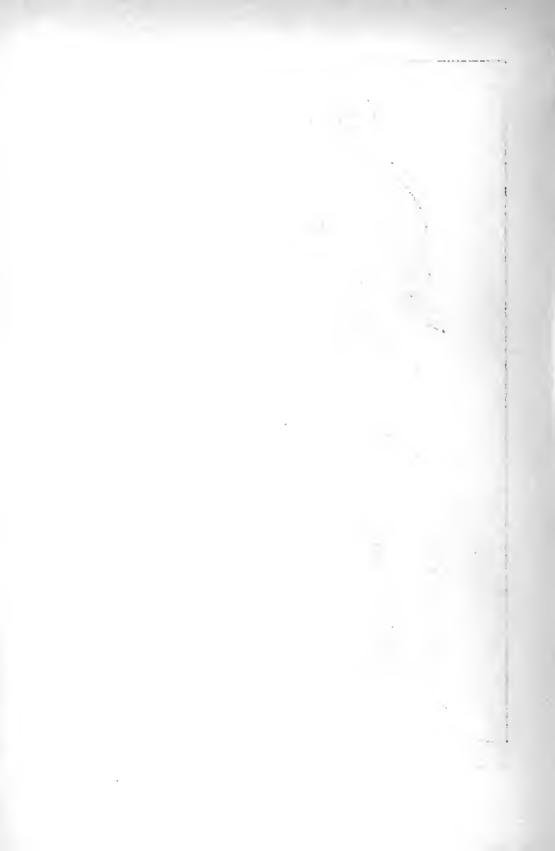
Time of James I. The Earl (Carr) and Countess of Somerset (Lady Essex). Planche, u. 130. Later fashion of marrid women baring the neck.



Mask, from a print by P de Jode; time of James 1. Plancht, l. 366.



Q. Etraboth: early Portrait, with Mary-Queen of-Scote-cap." Planche, s. 79





Ruff underpropped with Supportasse. Stubbes, p. 70, foot. Planche, i. 443.



Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline). Anne of Denmark, Queen of James 1. Plancks, L 187
Later Fashion of marrid Women baring the Neck.





Cap. Earl of Oxford, 1578, Plancht, i. 77.



Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1540. Plancht, i. 436.



Ruff, pointed Doublet, and Netherstockes [Stubbes, p. 57]; time of Elizabeth, from portrait of Sir William Russell. Planche, i. 172.



Hat, with Lady's glove in it (gauntlet shown). George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Planks, i. 15%.



Cap. Sir Christopher Hatton time of Elizabeth. Planell, 1. 79.



Memorandum:

ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE

REV. J. W. EBSWORTH.

The history of the woodcuts illustrating the common street-ballads has never yet been systematically undertaken. Mr. William Chappell, our very highest authority on all matters connected with old songs and ballads, their words, music, and publication, has avowedly left the subject of their woodcuts to other students and specialists. It is of sufficient importance to be assigned to one volunteer, who has already made considerable progress in tracing the source from which many of the woodcuts had descended to the hawkers; and his future gift to the Ballad-Society members may prove the interest attached to the search, and the value of several discoveries. Meanwhile here are some Ballad-Society woodcuts chiefly from the Roxburghe and the Bagford Collections, as reproduced under the editorship of Messrs. Win. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth. A few words from the latter may accompany the present selection of woodcuts, without borrowing from the Planché descriptions.

All the street-ballad cuts, of early, middle, or recent times, fall easily into one of two groups. 1. Those which were engraved expressly for some one particular ballad. 2. Those which had originally belonged to a higher class printed-book, and, after having served the purpose of attracting attention and sale to it, became lessened in value, often mutilated of parts, worm-eaten, and cracked, and in such condition fell into the hands of those literary rag-pickers, the professional publishers of street-ballads for hawkers. There is seldom any practical difficulty found by an expert determining to which of these two classes every woodcut belongs, when it is encountered on a broadside. general the first class, of ballad-cuts proper, are of much coarser execution, more clumsy in design, and later in costume than the book-illustrations. Of these latter a large number were no doubt the work of French and German artists. A few of these here given belong to known books, still extant, and there are many others in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Wood, and Rawlinson collections which are veritable relics of small quarto volumes of pleasantry, which must always be interesting to students of old literature. Thus the cut marked (A)

18º Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

belonged to Robert Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," published in 1592. (B) is a mutilated and spoilt illustration from the title-page of Will Kemp's "Nine-Days Wonder," 1600; the figures separated and absurdly misplaced (after each had been elsewhere used singly, and the original intention forgotten): with the bells on Kemp's legs shorn away to disguise their morris-dancer significance. These bells are better seen in the terribly-reduced copy (C) of the morris-dancer receiving his prizecup and a "modest quencher," that "cheers," if it does no more. The gambling Bordello-scene (D) is an Elizabethan picture of fast-life, that had originally belonged to a small pamphlet. (E) is a very slovenly and inaccurate copy (Planche's) from the wood-cut adorning the title-page of "A Faire Quarrell: written by Thomas Midleton and William Rowley," 1622. This edition is in the present writer's possession, but there was an earlier edition issued in 1617. The cut may have been used before that date, as evidently the two shields on the ground, with armorial-bearings emblazoned, mark some special duel.

The single figure (F) represents Gabriel Harvey, as caricatured offensively by Thomas Nash (as though Harvey had anticipated Alderman Atkins of Civil-War date, in forgetting his manners; even as Hogarth misrepresented Felix when he "trembled"). It is from "Haue with you to Saffron Waldon," 1596, and become a favourite adornment among ballad-prints. There is clever satire embodied in (G), showing how drink develops the latent animalism of human beings. The original cut, before it descended to the ballad printer Rich. Harper, was on the title-page of Thomas Heywood's "Philocothonista; or, the Drunkard opened, dissected, and anatomised," 1635. At the Bodleian Library, when engaged on the Bagford-Ballad editing, the present writer found the Maypole-dance (H); with its primitive perspective of street-architecture resembling our modern workmen's cottages, and the clear indication of a prize-wreath for the Queen of the May, with the protecting stumps around the May-pole, and the Tabourer with his pipe, calling the flat-capped 'Prentice-boys and the blithe damsels to a dancing-bout. It is apparently of Charles the First's time, and, to the best of our belief, was never copied before, being used as an extra-illustration of the Ballad-Society's Bagford-Ballads.

The Tavern scene (I), with the "Drawer" waiting, was a favourite illustration of Martin Parker's convivial ballads, three of which it adorns. John Wade's publisher often selected (K), with its cavaliers regaling themselves over the Virginian weed:—

Much meate doth gluttony produce, And makes a man a Swine; But hee's a temperate-man indeed, That with a leafe can dine.

Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations. 19*

He needes no napkin for his hande His fingers for to wipe; He hath his kitchin in a box, His Roast-meate in a pipe. (1641.)

The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems to be of James the First's time. Most of the other cuts were intended from the first as ballad-illustrations. The Tinker (O) was always a popular, amatory, and reckless character; to whom many old ballads were devoted, and he was always triumphant. The number of representations of Queen Elizabeth (P, Q, and R,) testify to the fondness with which the people regarded "Good Queen Bess," both before and after the Crown had passed to the Stuart family. We have an impression that the picture of a Queen with a veil depending from ber head (S) represented "Bloody Mary." It is of rare occurrence, in comparison with those of her more popular sister, Elizabeth. The obtrusively-indelicate exposure of the bosom (T) was a court-fashion of James the First's time, to whose date the woodcut belongs. In Coryat's "Crudities," 1611, both the frontispiece and the illustration of his meeting the Venetian Courtezan shew how this fashion prevailed among the frail sisterhood in other lands. Fuller's "Profane State," an early edition, has a portrait of Joan of Naples, with exactly similar display; probably in that individual case it was a wanton calumny, but it was intended to blacken her character. Many upright people love to believe the worst about women who are fascinating. In an extant portrait of the beautiful and wicked Countess of Somerset, Carr's wife, there is an equal obtrusion of her charms, that ought to be kept secret. See the Bagford Ballads, p. 124, for what Dante writes on the immodesty of the Florentine women: "O dolce frate," etc., Purgatorio, canto xxiii. See also "Bagnall's Ballad," beginning, "A Ballet, a Ballet," in Musarum Delicia, 1656. An insufficiency of drapery to cover one part of the body seems generally to have accompanied some superabundance at another; as shown in the hoop-extended robes, with shoulder-lappets, and wire-spread starched-Ruff under the ears (U), in another Court-Lady of James the First; perhaps his Queen Anne, or the Lady Arabella. Even thus, bare shoulders and scanty under-garments are now found in conjunction with long trailing skirts. Going down to dinner, like Goldsmith's Traveller, ladies "drag at each remove a lengthening chain." The feather-fans appear in many of the cuts; and examples meet us (X' to X') of the same design being often copied; sometimes by rival publishers, but oftener to suit other-sized spaces, or admit of several

20 Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations,

ballads being worked off simultaneously, before stereotyping was understood. The Shepherdess with a crook (Y) affords a specimen of the fantastically Pastoral; her actual costume (compare Y') being whimsical enough to embody the ideal desired. The dashing Cavalier (Z) with three-plumed hat and fair depending Love-locks, often tied with knots of ribbon, belongs to the reign of Charles the First, and adorns ballads of the date 1639. Until shortly after that time the popular representation of a lover was always as an armed horseman:

"I could not love thee, dear, so much Loved I not honour more."

J. W. EBSWORTH.





Roxburghe Ballad Cuts (Ballad Society), T. Bare Breasts; Wheel Earthingale (or Crinoline).
2. Queen Mary. P. Queen Elizabeth. Round Farthingale.

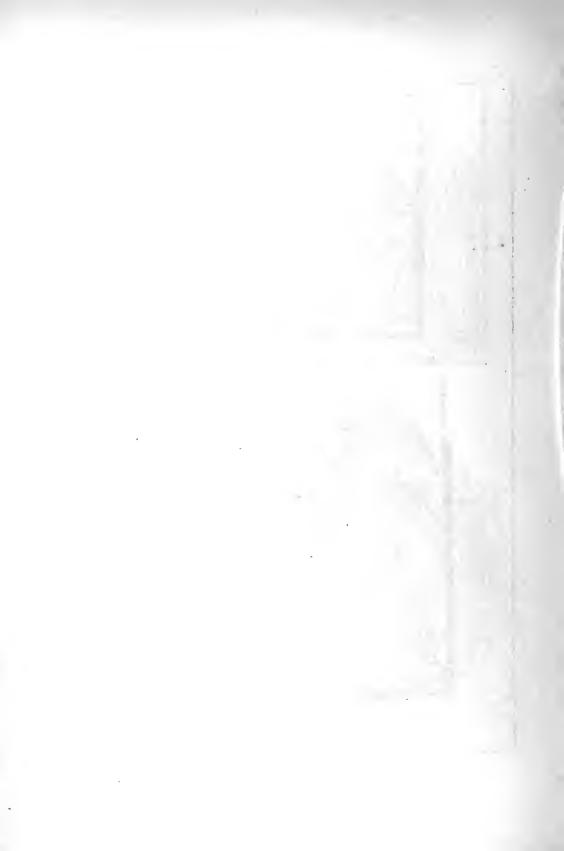




Kutts, Fann, Chains, Farthingales or Hoops. Xº, Unmarrid Woman, bare-breasted.











Women's Feathers, Wired Ruffs, Wheel Farthingales. Men's Bumbasted Breeches, Hat-bands, Feathers, &c. t. Elizabeth or James I.

24*





(? Time of James I.)



Women's Ruffs, Farthingales, &c. 4. Men's fringed Boot-tops, &c









I time of Charles I.





D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Edizabeth.



E. Bombasted Breeches, time of Elizabeth. Planchi, i. 57. (Slovenly copy from the title-page of Middleton and Rowley's Faire Quarrell, 1017)









Roxburghe Ballad Cuts. A: from R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtler, 1500.

B is the famous Clown Kemp's Dance to Norwich 1600, alterd from the title-page of his Nine-Days' Wonder: the Drummer ought to go before Kemp.

C. Morris-dancer, with bells below his knee, going to take a drink.











F. Gabriel Harvey, from T. Nashe's Have with you to Saffron Walden, 1506. The rest probably of the time of James I.

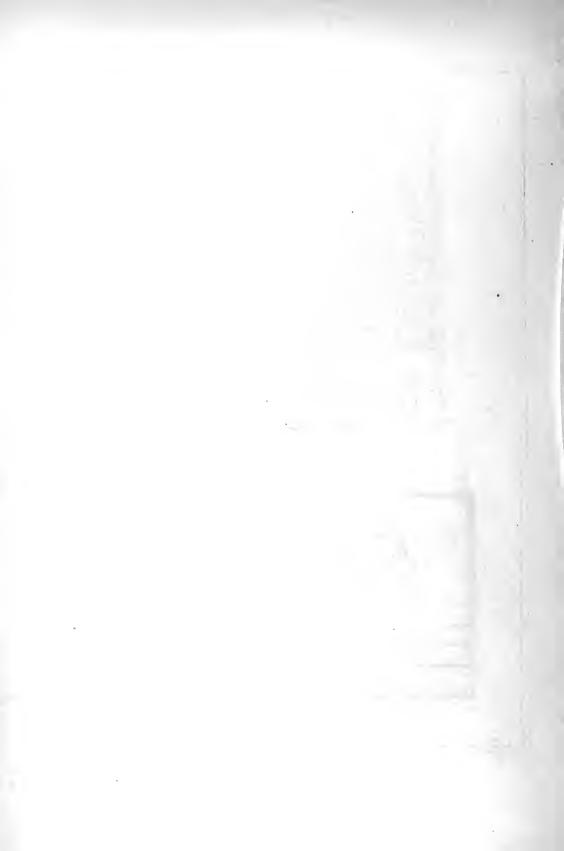




Fishing with an angle (? Dutch). Probably time of James I.



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.





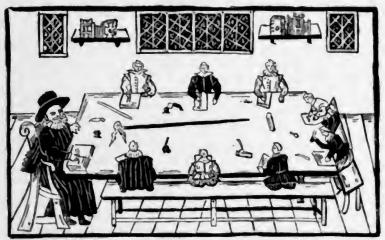
6. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's Philocethonista, 1633.



K. Pipes and Ale: final time of Q. Elizabeth or early of James 1. SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

31*





[Probably a Professor or Lecturer at College, with his Students. Note the Dress, Benches, Chair, Bookshelves. J. W. E.]



A Judicial Complaint: with plaintiff on his knees supplicating for redress, and the defendant standing, but losing courage while being admonished. Their inferior size is an indication of being of lowlier station. J. W. E.





I. Tavern-scene. Drawer attending at a revel.



R. May-pole Dance: time of Charles I. See Memorandum,



FOREWORDS.1

§ 1. The Anatomie: its 1st and | § 6. His 11 known, and 8 extant 2nd Parts, p. 35

§ 2. T. Nashe's chaff and abuse of Stubbes, p. 36*

§ 3. Did Stubbes write against real Sins or funcid ones? p. 44*

§ 4. Was he a mere Railer, or did his indignation against Vice and Folly spring from an

§ 5. Stubbes, his Wife, and her Family, p. 50*

Works, p. 55*

9 7. His Character, p. 69* 8. Miscellaneous: p. 71* Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, Kirchmaier's Popish Superstitions in 1553, the present Edition, &c.

APPENDIX: Extracts from Bp. Babington more or less justifying Stubbes, p. 75

§ 1. As Harrison's Description of England is the best work on the general condition of our country during Shakspere's early time, so is Stubbes's Anatomie the worthfullest for the special departments of Dress-and its extravagances in men and women, -of Amusements and the excesses they ran into, of the Follies and Naughtinesses of the day. No one can pretend to know Shakspere's England without Stubbes's help, and therefore the Anatonic has taken an early place in our Society's Sixth Series, whose purpose is to put before our Members the best pictures attainable of our great poet's time. The First Part only of the book is generally known. The reputation which its slash and life have won for it, has (I have long thought) unfairly darkend the merits of the Second Part, in which Stubbes shows up briefly the Abuses and Corruptions in all classes of Society, Temporalty and Spiritualty, and describes, one after the other, the

¹ Prof. Nichol, of Glasgow, calls this good word a barbarism! How happy for us, that a little cherub sits up aloft in the Northern wilds to look after the civilization of us Southerners!

36 § 1. Contents of the Anatomic, Part II. § 2. T. Nashe.

Country Oucen Her Council Shires Judges (delays in law) Prisoners, their hard case Laws Universities Schoolmasters Merchants Drapers Clothiers Goldsmiths Vintners Butchers Grasiers Parks

Sheepmasters

Landlords Tailors Starchers Tanners Shoemakers Brokers (F. 4, bk.) Hospitality, or relief for the poor. Beggars Husbandmen Ingraters or Forestallers Chandlers Barbers Surgeons and Physicians Astronomers and Astrologers Prognosticators and Almanac-Makers.

The list of subjects will show those who have had a taste of Stubbes in this First Part of his Anatomie how valuable the Second Part must be; and tho' the spice of it is not equal to that of the First Part, I mean to print it, as well for its own worth as to complete the work. But as the First Part was evidently written as a complete book, the Second Part being only calld out by the unwonted success of the First, I have put separate Forewords, Notes, and Index to the First Part, so as to keep it distinct from the Second; and I have not quoted in the Notes, any of the many illustrative passages that are in Part II., where, as the reader has seen, some of the Part-I-subjects are dealt with again.

§ 2. The general view of Stubbes is, that he was a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan, who saw only the dark side of everything,—evil in innocence, sin in mirth, the devil in dancing, and hell in Shakspere's art. In his own time this opinion prevaild. He was held up to contempt as one of the Mar-Prelate zealots and hypocrites by the sharp-tongued Thomas Nashe, who in 1590 plagiarized Stul bes's title, and lelpt his own Anatomie of Absurditie into sale by following in Stubbes's wake, and yet had in 1589 cut him (and his fellows) up in the style following:—

§ 2. T. Nashe on Stubbes's Dice-playing and Widow. 37*

(1) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his Almond for a Parrat, 1 1589.

"If they will needes ouerthrowe mee, let them goe in hand with the exploite, &-c.

[on sign. C. 4.

T Olla, holla, brother Martin, you are to hasty: what, Winter is no time to make warres in; you were best stay til summer, & then both our braines wilbe in a better temperature, but I thinke ere that time your witte wilbe welny worn thredbare, and your banquerout inuention, cleane out at the elbowes; then are we well holpen vp with a witnesse, if the aged champion of Warwicke, doe not lay in his shoulders, and support discipline ready to lie in the dust, with some or other demonstration. I can tell you, Phil. Stu. is a tall man also for that purpose. What, his Anatomy of Abuses for all that, will serue very fitly for an Antipast, before one of Egertons 2 Sermons: I would see the best of your Trauerses 3 write such a treatise as he hath done, against short heeld pantoffles. But one thing it is great pitty of him, that being such a good fellow as hee is, hee shoulde speake against dice, so as he doth: neuerthelesse ther is some hope of him, for as I heard not long since, a brother of his, meting him by chance (as theeues meete at the gallowes) after many Christian questions of the well-fare of his persecuted brethren, and sistern, askt him when they should have a game at tables together, "by the grace of God, the next Sabbaoth," quoth Phil., "and then if it shal so seeme good to his prouidence, have at you for ames ase and the dise." I forgette to tell you what a stirre he keepes against dumbe ministers, and neuer writes nor talkes of them, but he calleth them minstrels, when his mastershippe in his minority, plaide the Reader in Chesshire, for five marke a yeare and a canuas dublet, couenanted besides, that in consideration of that stipend, he make cleane the patrones bootes every time he came to towne. What neede more words to proue him a protestant? did not he behaue himselfe like a true Christian, when he went a wooing for his friend Clarke? I warrant you, he saide not 'God saue you, or God speed you,' with 'good euen, or good morrow,' as our prophane woers are wont, but stept close to her, with 'peace bee with you,' very demurely, and then told her a long tale, that in-so-much as widowhoode was an vncleane lyfe, and subject to many temptations, shee

¹ This tract has been attributed also to John Lyly, the author of Enphues; but it's surely more like Nashe, and ought to be his.

² The 'zealous Puritan and Preacher at the Black Fryers in London,' Stephen Egerton, author of a Lecture on Gen. xil, &c. Lon. 1589, 8vo. Catalizing, 1594, 8vo, &c. Wood, Ath. Oson. (1691), i. 754.

³ The famous Puritan, Walter Travers, author of ¹ An Answere to a supplicatoric Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques, ¹ 1583, &c. Wood, 41h. Oxon. (i. 1691), 741; Cooper, Ath. Camb.

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose; but I wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto converst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vtterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engraft her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull; to which, that shee might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneua Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make up the bargaine. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee; Phil. Stu. was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all; and so, O griefe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it Mar-martin *Iunior*, and thou art good inough for ten thousand of them; tickle me my Phil. a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain private Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart? then have at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam. If you be remembred, you were once put to your trumpes about it in Wolfes 2 Printing-house, when as you would needes have clari the infinitive moode of a verbe passiue; which determined, you went forwards after this order: Sunt there are, oculos eies, qui the which, cernis thou doest see, clari to be cleare, tanquem sydera as the Stars: Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one peece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke? Learning is a iewel, my maisters; make much of it; and Phil. Stu. a Gentleman, every haire of his head; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, Martin makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulted out) amongst the number of those priny Martinists which he threatens to place in euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitye pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

² Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's Printer, and planner of *Holinshed's Chronicle*. See Harrison, I. p. iv, and Stow, p. 65° n. below.

¹ Sign. D. I.

³ This phrase I take to be the ground of Antony Wood's (or his correspondent's) paragraph below, p. 53° n. Stubbes didn't take a degree; therefore he was at a University. No trace existed of him at Oxford; therefore he was at Cambridge, and left before he took his degree. Then, because there was a Justinian Stubs, M. A., at Glo'ster Hall, Oxford, in 1589 (? enterd there in 1583), therefore Phillip Stubbes, after his 7 years' ramble about England, 1576-83, settled at Oxford for a time, at Glo'ster Hall.

⁴ Sign. D. 1, back.

§ 2. T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and his Anatomic. 39.

magistracy. But as the moste of their arguments, are drawn from our grave fathers infirmities, so all their outrageous endeuors have

their offspring from affected vainglory.

("AnAlmond for a Parrat / Or Cutbert Curry-knaues / Almes. / Fit for the knaue Martin, and the / rest of the impudent Beggers, that / can not be content to stay their stomackes / with a Benefice, but they will needes / breake their fastes with / our Bishops. / Rimarum sum plenus. / Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you / catch not the hicket with laughing. / [Ornament.] Imprinted at a Place, not farre from / a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and / are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue / Street, at the signe of the / Standish. /" [1589].)

(2) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his Anatomic of Absurditie, 1590 (sign. B. ii.).

"I leave these [Girls and their praisers] in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses, and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, when as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who, wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnesse, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their innectives so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid somebody should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couctousness, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes: of gluttonie, as though their living did lye vppon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with bread and water; and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr 1 cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting foorth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont; euen so they to die in vertue, if they once ouershoote themselues too much wyth inneighing against vice; to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euen as the Vultures slay nothing themselues, but pray vpon that which of other is slayne, so these men inneigh against no new vice, which heere to fore by the censures of the learned hath not beene sharply condemned, but teare that, peecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out

of there forepassed pains, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuectives. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing saue the excrementes of Artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge being bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced, through translators rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their sluttered sutes, before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddle pit, who have continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who have wine to sell. At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter. Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this knowledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians vsed money to no other ende but to tell it; even so these men make no other vse of learning, but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, whom with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I knowe not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in [an] other mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that proverbial checke, Ne sutor vitra cre-1 pidam, or that oratoricall taunt, Quam quisque norit artem, in ea se exerceat: with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuer, to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter, to vaunte reading when the sum of their divinitie consists in twopennie Catichismes; and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curiouslie into every corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are appropued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of the Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by theyr speeche, their minds by their medling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie; see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small ship in a shallow River, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessell; euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subject, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despight, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

A common practise it is now adaies, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, shoulde be vnto an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile, a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie,

a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publiquelie make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for an eschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then haue recourse to that caucat of Christ in the Gospell, Caucte ab 1 hipocritis. It is not the writhing of the face, the heaving vppe of the eyes to heaven, that shall keepe these men from having their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they have the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharisies the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church infeasse them in the kingdonie of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles, and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church militant heere vpon earth, when as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleeue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them; and what Heretiques were there euer that did not arrogate as much to themselues? These they be that publiquely pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their private Chambers the expresse imitation of Howliglasse.² It is too tedious to the Reader to attend the circumstaunce of their seuerall shyftes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie, Seeing their workes, shun their waies."

(The Anatomie of / Absurditie: / Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender / imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short / description of the seuerall practises of youth, and / sundry follies of our licentious / times. / No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred / especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addic-/ted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie. / Compiled by T. Nashe. / Ita diligendi sunt homines, vt eorum non / diligamus errores. / At London, / Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho-/mas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop / in Lumberd Street, vnder the signe of / the Popes heade. / Anno. Dom. 1590. /)

Gabriel Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, against Thomas Nashe, thus (pp. 183-4) answers the latter's attack on Stubbes:—

[&]quot;It is the destiny of our language, to be pestered with a rable-

¹ Sign. B. iii. back.

² A supposed rough practical joker and dirty doer. Wm. Copland printed (in 1548-60) 3 editions of the book recording his doings. For a list of its contents, see my Captain Cox, Ballad Soc., p. xlix-l.

ment of botchers in Print; but what a shamefull shame it is for him [T. Nashe], that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth-vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles, (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danters presse 1), to emprooue himself as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation, as the starkest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grosest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone, 2 Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfullest Chroniclers tooe; bicause they stand in his way, hinder his scribling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned modern Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peraduenture be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; bicause he is so much vayner, so little learneder, so nothing eleganter, than they; and they so much honester, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, than he? Surely, Thomas, it were pollicy, to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More. If Vaunting, or craking may make thee singular, thy Art is incomparable, thy Wit superexcellent, thy Learning omnisufficient, thy memory infinite, thy dexterity incomprehensible, thy force horrible, thy other giftes more then admirable; but . . . '

In the same tract (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, pp. 190-1), Gabriel Harvey further praisd Stubbes² for his filed and workman-like style:—

"Our late writers are, as they are: and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest, to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge⁴; in Gascoigne, Churchyarde, and Floide⁵; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce,

¹ From which came in 1597 the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet. J. Danter also enterd a Titus Andronicus in 1593.

² See the long list of Deloney's ballads, tracts, and books, in Hazlitt. Tho' Deloney might have been calld a pamphleteer, Robert Armin, the actor and play-writer, couldn't.

² I assume that he means Phillip Stubbes, and not John Stubbe of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579 (p. 53° and 54° below). The Chroniclers who are coupled with Stubbes above, are praisd here by name, Grafton, Holinshed, Stowe; and certainly Harvey would admire all the hard inkhorn words in the early editions of the Anatomic.

4 See a bit of Googe's work in the Naogeorgus Appendix, p. 323 below.

⁵ Lodowick Lloyd, of *The Filgrimage of Princes*, &c., was so calld, says Mr. Hazlitt. See the list of his works in Lowndes.

and Watson; in Kiffin¹, Warner, and Daniell; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent. For a polished and garnished stile, few go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers: and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, Stubbes, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde? whose seuerall writings, the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible interteinment of the daintiest censure.² "

Now I don't want, with Harvey, to call the slashing Tom Nashe "the sonne of a mule, a rawe Grammarian, a brabling Sophister, a counterfaict cranke, a stale rakehell, a piperly rymer, a stump-worne railer, a dodkin autor" (ib. p. 61); or to say that his books are all like his Strange Newes (1592, against Harvey): "Railing, railing, railing: bragging, bragging, bragging: and nothing else, but fowle railing vpon railing, and vayne bragging vpon bragging, as rudely, grosely, odiously, filthily, beastly, as euer shamed Print" (ib. p. 64), but I do not believe his story about Stubbes and the widow. Nashe reminds me of a little drunken scribbler I once knew, who, when a man offended him, always said 'the fellow 's a drunken clown.' Nash and his loose-living likes, who sneerd at Stubbes and his mates as eunuchs, did, I believe, invent or get hold of any joking tale like that of the Bible that wasn't a high enough cushion for a willing sister and an endeavouring brother, because the Apocrypha wasn't in it3 (Percy Fol., L. & H. Songs, p. 35),—and stick it on to any Puritan they wanted to chaff. So that it raisd a laugh was all they cared for, and when it had done this, they were satisfied. Nashe's story goes too far. Even if Stubbes had been an Angelo, and the widow an Isabella, the bribe wouldn't have been a Bible. So I reject the

¹ Maurice Kyffin, of the Blessedness of Brytaine, 1587, &c.: see Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 322-3.

³ See the praises of other authors, &c., before and after, p. 190-2: Southwell, Scot (Discovery of Witchcraft), Whitgift, Drant, Dr. Still, &c. On p. 60-1, he calls Nashe "a May-Lord of Primerose-hill, that hath all humours in his liverie, & can put conscience in a Vices coate." I don't take up space by quoting the chief works of the authors nam'd in the text above, as they are either well known or can be easily found in bibliographical lists.

³ See too in *Dodsley*, ix. 61-2, the jest about the Puritan lass who yielded only to prevent her lover breaking his oath, as he'd sworn to succeed. The point of the Apocrypha joke was that the Puritans calld the Apocrypha a lot of Popish fables, and refusd to acknowledge it as part of the Bible.

44° § 3. Was Elizabethan Dress outrageously absurd?.

widow tale. Nashe, however, is more to be regarded, and is nearer hitting the nail on the head, when he complains of Stubbes extending his "inuectives so farre against the abuse, that almost the thing remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse."

§ 3. But the question is, 1. whether Stubbes was writing against real abuses or not, and 2. whether he wrote from real earnestness, or only hypocrisy. If the excesses he denounct were real, and if his zeal against them was righteous, we shall not judge him harshly because he went a little too far in the words he used, or the sharpness of the curb he'd have liked to put on offenders.

On the first point he deals with, Men's and Women's Dress, I ask whether one single writer of the time can be produc'd, who treats the matter, and is satisfied with his contemporaries' practice? I've never seen or heard of one. But on the contrary, every man whose book you open,—from the catholic Shakspere, who surely liked his cakes and ale, to the sensible cheery Harrison, the odd, and liker of oddities, Tom Coryat,—every single writer condemns the foolery, extravagance and evil of the outrageous garments around him. The Queen and her Council did so (see the fine volume of her Proclamations in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., an. 1, 4, 8 (p. 94-6), 16 (p. 155-7), 19 (p. 171-3), 30 (p. 253-7), 39 (p. 343-6, A.D. 1597). And we, by our practice, do it too.

Why also did Stubbes condemn these follies? Not only because he saw with Shakspere that men bore manors on their backs, and sacrifict their inheritances to gratify their stupid pride; not only because he knew, with Harrison, that for this, England's oaks were felld, her country hospitality stopt; but because the follies led to the neglect of the poor—the humble folk that ben Christ's friends, as Chaucer says—who were left to die in the streets like dogs, the dung that rotted, to grow the flowers that adornd the Court

Take the next vices with which Stubbes deals, Whoredom and Adultery, Gluttony and Drunkenness; and on the first pair, contrast Shakspere's Spring Song on the Cuckoo at the end of Love's

¹ See An. 42, for suppression of Ale-houses, and due observance of Fish-days; and an. 43 for prohibiting the carrying of dags (big pistols: Harrison, i. 283).

§ 3. Did Stubbes condemn Whoredom too strongly? 45*

Labours Lost with Wordsworth's, and judge whether Stubbes had cause to write as he did, or not, and whether we haven't cause to be grateful that he and his fellows did write thus, and set their faces as a flint against the idle wits that treated the soiling of women's purity as a joke, and the debauching of girls as an honourable token of manliness. Thank God, it requires an effort of the imagination to turn from our own state of society—faultful tho' it be—and conceive one in which the so welcome note of the herald of spring, the recaller of youth's 'golden time,' could suggest the idea of cuckoldry to any husband. No longer is it true in England, that

"When Daisies pied, and Violets blew,
And Cuckow-buds of yellow hew,
And Ladie-smockes all siluer white,
Do paint the Medowes with delight,
The Cuckow then on euerie tree
Mockes married men; for thus sings he,
Cuckow!
Cuckow! O worde of feare,
Vnpleasing to a married eare."

L. L. Lost, V. 904-12, Folio I. p. 144, col. 2.

And we have to thank mainly the Puritan party that this old evil is not ours still.

As to the Drunkenness, that is still the great curse of our land. And ask any one who's been among working men, and seen what a drinker's home and wife and children are like, seen the blessed change that teetotalism makes in all; ask any one who knows what went on in the upper and middle classes as late as my own father's day, my own youth,—the daily debasing of men to worse than brutes;—ask any one who knows but a little of Elizabethan books; ask Shakspere, thro' Hamlet or Cassio, whether Stubbes has said one word too stern against that "devil drunkenness" (Oth. II. iii. 297), which was in his day, as it is in ours, the blight of our native land.

As to the evils next complaind of, the enclosure of Commons without due regard to the rights of the poor, the cheating dealers, &c.—what is our Commons-Preservation Society, what are our Co-operative Societies and Stores, but declarations that Stubbes was in the right; that landlords' greed needs check by law, the weakness

of the poor needs help; and that the Dealer, standing between the workman and the buyer, to make out of both the most he can for himself, without regard to the welfare of either, is a being who has to be turnd into the agent of worker or buyer, or if possible both, bound to act honestly, and put down all adulteration, extravagant profit, and tricks of trade. As to the evil of letting usurers get the ownership of mortgagees' lands because the money was not paid on the day fixt for its return, our Courts of Equity and our Laws have long since settled that Stubbes was right, and have secured the mortgagee his equity of redemption, and prevented the mortgagor from taking more than his principal and interest. So also our laws have, by later Insolvency and Bankruptcy Acts, declard Stubbes right in his denouncing of the old iniquitous power of creditors to keep moneyless debtors in prison just as long as they lik'd, let their heels rot from their buttocks, as Stubbes says, in the foul prisons of the day, and then make dice of their bones.

Swearing has so long ceast to be "good form," that Stubbes's condemnation of it will be acquiest in by all, tho' they may not want swearers now branded with a hot iron, or believe in judgments on em.¹

We now come to Stubbes's wholesale abuse of the Amusements of his time; and it is for this that many folk condemn him, that I allow he was "sumwhat too sour," and went beyond the bounds which he had laid down for himself in his Preface. But let the reader recognize how very much there was in the pastimes of the day that deserved the strongest blame, and in how many cases posterity has justified Stubbes's censures. Note first, that the main reason for Stubbes's fierceness was, that all the games and devilry that he complains of so bitterly, were carried on more vigourously on Sunday than any other day. This is the point the whole matter

¹ Years ago I chanced to ask a regular contributor to the Saturday—a very high wrangler of my time at Cambridge—what had made the S. Review such a success. He said, "Mainly Cook's (the editor's) power of swearing. He swears at everybody so fiercely, from the printer's devil to his best leader-writer or sub-editor, that he makes us all do exactly as he tells us. I never heard such oaths." The like procedure seems to produce contrary effects at the Horse Guards.

turns on. I Stubbes lookt on the Day as specially holy to his Lord, to be spent "in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil; in receiving the sacraments, rightly administred; in vsing publique and private prayer; in thanksgiuing to God for all his benefits; in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations; in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes; and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man" (p. 140); and instead of this, he saw all the vagabonds and drabs of the country playing the devil's delight all day long, and all night too. No wonder that he rose in wrath, and curst the whole crew. And who-even among us Sunday League and Sunday-Society-men, goers by train and boat-now wants to have bears baited, or theatres open², on Sundays; fairs held then, and markets; the cancan danced, 3 or drunken jollifications going on in Church or Churchyard? Who would let sister, daughter, or maid, be out with a mixt company of men and girls in the woods all night (p. 149)? Depend on it, there were abuses of the grossest kind in the rough games of Stubbes's and Shakspere's day, abuses even justifying the call that they should in public be put down for a time altogether. We know how many of them have been rightly given up since; and if we care, we may know that there are two sides to great gatherings for amusement now. Two of the occasions on which this has been brought home to me were these. The first time I was saying to a faithful-working curate-friend in a country town in Hampshire, how pleasant all lookt at the fair that morning. "Yes," he answerd, "I suppose one oughtn't to grudge the people their gathering; but our annual crop of bastards 'll be sown to-night. We had twelve last year, and eleven the year before; and many of the girls get ruind for life." The second time, chatting to an easy-going acquaintance about

With Pink Dominoes (as describd to me) playd, or even the innocent Venus and Adonis acted, with next Sunday's Referee notice that Miss Phoebe Don's legs were "monuments of managerial perspicacity and plumpness."

¹ So in his denouncing of the Church-Ales, p. 150—2, one great grievance is that the Churches lie "like swyn-coates (pig-styes), their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall downe, the roof all bare . . . the booke of God rent, ragged and all betorn, couered in dust," p. 151.

² See p. 146. Note too Chaucer on the dangers of Dances, &c., Cant. T., C. 65-6.

our races on Runnymede, at Egham, and saying that I'd seen no harm going on to justify the outcry against them by some folk, he answerd: "Ah, your people just drive down to the course, and go away when the races are over. But if you want to know when the harm's done, and what it is, come with me to the booths the nights before and after, and then take a turn about the grass, and see what's going on there. I'm not one of the strait-laced lot; but knowing what I do, I don't wonder at people trying to stop the whole affair." Folk who like races and fairs and fun in general, either shut their eyes to the evils attending them, or say it's human nature, and there's no such great harm in it after all; but other men and women exist in the world, who can't take sin and the causes of it like this; they're just forced by their souls to fight against it, and its sources, with word and deed, with all their might; and if they do speak a little too sharply, or hit a little too hard, the self-indulgent do-nothings had at least better keep from abusing or sneering at them.

The justness of Stubbes's argument against hunting, on p. 182, is acknowledged by our modern hunts paying for the damage they do to farmers' fences and crops; and his plea that 'For pleasure sake only, no man ought to abuse any of the cretures of God,' cannot be answerd, as every one 'll confess who's seen, at the end of his first day's hunt, the tears and distresst look of the stag he's followd, or the last tries of the fox to save his life.¹

In Stubbes's condemnation of cockfighting, gambling, bear-baiting, we all admit that he was right; and on the whole, tho' he would have put me as an inveterate Sabbath-breaker², dancer, and honourer of Shakspere, into one of the hottest corners of his 'Material Hell,' I do not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the

¹ The only defence is a shirk, and 'You're another:' "You can do without meat if you like; at any rate, you'd be better with little of it, and that of the simplest kind. But, solely for your pleasure, to tickle your palate, you have lots of animals needlessly killed; while we hunting men, for our health and refreshment, as well as our pleasure, only give a stag a good sweating, and kill a stinking fox now and then. Who are you to find fault with us?" (Mr. E. A. Freeman's articles on hunting and Mr. A. Trollope's answer, a few years back, I haven't seen.)

³ And a backslider from the faith of Stubbes, for one Sunday, after a Sab-batarian parson's sermon, my father's Sunday newspaper, the *Windsor Express*, to his great disgust disappeard till Monday morning.

§ 4. Stubbes didn't rail only, but car'd for the Poor. 49*

Abuses he denounct were real and not fancid ones, cancers in the body of the commonweal, and that his words in denouncing them were not, in most cases, one whit too strong. We pass then to

§ 4. Was Stubbes a mere railer? In my early days in London, when one of a body of workers full of Christian-Socialist plans of social reform, helping in district-visiting, ragged schools, workingmen's associations, &c., came out some Latter-Day-Pamphlets, by a certain prophet of the time, which seemd to me to do nothing but swear generally all round. Everything was wrong, everybodyexcept the writer-was a fool, niggers should eternally be slaves, and there was no hope for the world except in the coming of some beneficent hog-herd with a tremendous whip to drive the universal swine along the road they ought to go.1 One night a well-known naval novelist, a disciple of this faith, was at a friend's house, holding forth with his usual fervour, and I ventured to suggest that he should do something to try and cure some of the evils he seemd to feel so keenly. I askt him to teach in our ragged school in Little Ormond Yard. On which he took his pipe out of his mouth, took a sip at his -th glass of toddy, and said, 'My dear Sir, I'll see you and your ragged school damnd first! The world 's going to the devil its own way. Let it go!'

Now Phillip Stubbes wouldn't have given a like answer—if I judge him aright—had John Stubbe, or any such man, askt him to lend a hand to any good work near Lincoln's Inn in his day. He'd have gone and done his best at it, tho' he'd no doubt have insisted on dosing the workees with texts and sermons. On his Sundays, he didn't want only to sing psalms and pray; he'd also collect money for the poor, and do good works (p. 140). He wasn't angry with the rich for their gay clothes and vain show only, but because these led to 'cold charitie to the poore':

"Do they think that it is lawfull for them to have millions of sundry sortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing?"

¹ If I do injustice to this book, which was a cruel blow to me after the noble Life of Cromwell, the Sartor, &c., I am sorry. I never opend it after the Parts were bound. But, had that whip then come to my hands, the prophetic back would have been the first laid open by it.

—p. 59. "And so [the poore diseased] being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streats, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truely, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarsly have thought that the like Turkish cruelty had beene vsed in all the World."—p. 60.

Again and again Stubbes comes back to this, pp. 105, 116, 183, &c. He cares for God's dumb creatures too¹ (pp. 178, 182). And tho' we can't class him with Orlando, who "wil chide no breather in the world but my selfe, against whom I know most fault" (As You Like It, III. ii. 297-8), we can honestly refuse to couple him with Jaques, or any of those who merely want to "raile against our mistris the worlde," and "must have liberty Withall, as large a Charter as the winde, To blow on whom [they] please" (ib. II. vii. 47-9).

§ 5. Stubbes and his Family. Where he came from, when he was born,2 where he was taught, and when he died, we don't

¹ He would, were he living now, certainly join the *Fellowship of Animals'* Friends that our Vice-Presidents Mr. and Mrs. Cowper-Temple have just founded. And he'd have curst the putting back Christians under Turkish rule in 1878 as heartily as I did; 'English interests' doing the Devil's work.

³ I suppose he was born about 1555,—the year that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford (Oct. 16) in bloody Mary's reign. If Stubbes's 7-years' travel about England by or before 1583, is to be taken literally, he probably did not start till he was his own master, and 21. I suppose that he didn't die till in or after 1610, when an enlargd edition of his *Pathway* was publisht, with 15 new prayers added, perhaps for the first time. That he was a well-read and learned

man is plain from his books.

Here's a suggestion from *The Saturday Review* (Sept. 25, 1869, p. 421, col. 2) as to Stubbes's Christian name: "Why were there so many Philips in those days?—Philip, Earl of Arundel, to whom this book (Stubbes's *Anatomie*) is dedicated; Philip, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the Shakespeare folio is inscribed; Philip Sidney and Philip Massinger, who could write books for themselves. Why but because Philip was the name of the 'father of our Kings to be,' and was the favourite godpapa with the rank-worshipping mammas of the period. And if the word Philip had been called out at a bearbaiting in the sixteenth century, there would have been as many responses to it as there are nowadays when H'albert is shouted for at a Foresters' Fête at the Crystal Palace."

Now, though I can't pretend to measure the infinite flunkeyism of the Victorian or Elizabethan English mother and man, yet I must observe that Philip Massinger was baptizd on Nov. 23, 1583, only five years before the Armada, and Sir Philip Sidney born on Nov. 29, 1554, four years before Elizabeth came to the throne (155S); and if the 'mammas of the period' kept up their fancy for the Popish Philip of Spain during all the changes of feeling in this time, the fact will surprise any one who has studied the period with the least care. How Stubbes must have hated his name if he thought he got it from the pet son of the scarlet whore?

know.¹ His Marriage-license we have, the Certificates of his son's birth, and his wife's death; his own account of his $4\frac{1}{2}$ years marrid life (below, p. 197-203, 208), and the few words he says of his travels about England, in his *Anatomie*, 1583 (p. 22, below), and *Motive to Good Workes*, 1593, p. 68°, 69°, below. Colonel Chester kindly sends me the Marriage License, from the Bishop of London:

"1586, Sep. 6, Philip Stubbes, Gentleman, of St. Mary at Hill,² London, and Katherine Emmes, spinster, of the same parish, daughter of William Emmes, late of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Cordwainer,³ deceased—To marry at any church or chapel in the diocese of London."

Mr. Henry Stubbs of Danby, Ballyshannon, sends me the following extracts from the Parish-Registers of Burton-on-Trent, as all that the latter yield:—

"1590. John Stubs & filius Philippi baptized the 17 November 1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December."

¹ I say this notwithstanding the passage from Nashe quoted above, p. 37°, and the extract (evidently bas'd on it) from Ant. Wood that follows, p. 53°, note. But Nash's bit about the Cheshire readership may have some ground.

² Dr. Howard, who has searcht the Registers of St. Mary at Hill, reports that there are no Stubbes entries in them.—J. L. C.

3 Of course you understand that Katherine Emmes's father was something more than a mere "shoemaker," as we now understand the term. His will styles him "Citizen and Cordwainer," i. c. a freeman of London, and member of the Cordwainers' Company. Stubbs in his tract intimates that William Emmes had held high office in his company, which elevates him to the level of the superior tradesmen of the old city.—J. L. C.

4 70 years after, a John Stubs, with George Fox and Benjamin Furly, publisht "A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural: You to Many, and Thou to One: Singular, One, Thou; Plural, Many, You. Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between Singular and Plural, &c. London, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-mil in Martins le Grand, 1660. folio." Hazlitt. Collection and Notes, p. 166, col. 2.

This is the day of her death, according to Phillip Stubbes. Possibly her fever led to her quick burial, but it looks odd. It was the Vicar, the Rev. C. F. Thornewill, that extracted the above entries in the Burton Registers for Mr. Henry Stubbes, who says, "the Vicar in his letter to me remarked that there was a + against the entry of Baptism of John Stubs, which he did not observe against any other entry; 'and likewise that the entry of Burial had evidently been made at a later date than that of the Burial itself, as it is in different ink from the rest, and is obviously put between the lines, having been forgotten or otherwise omitted at the time.'

52 § 5. Stubbes's Life. His Mother-in-law, Mrs. Emmes.

All the facts, then, that we know about Philip Stubbes at present are, that he was a Gentleman - either by birth, profession, or both; -a writer, from 1581 to 1610 (?), of pamphlets and books strongly on the Puritan side, well-read in his Bible and holy books: that before 1583 he had spent "seuen winters and more, trauailing from place to place, even all the Land over indifferently" (p. 21, below) about England; that he marrid in the autumn of 1586, a sweet, gentle, pious girl of from 14 to 15, with whom he led a happy peaceful life for nearly 41 years, expounding texts to her to his heart's content-a blissful contrast to Milton's first experiment;-that he lost her on Dec. 14, 1590, from a 6-weeks' fever caught after she had thoroughly recoverd from bearing 'a goodly man childe'baptizd John, on Nov' 17;—that he was in 'lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593;' and that he probably livd till after the new edition of his Perfect Pathway to Felicitie was publisht, with 15 new Prayers, in 1610. Col. Chester writes: "I have again gone carefully over all the Stubbs' wills in Somerset House from 1550 to 1630, and can find nothing of his parentage. His own will is certainly not here, if he left one, and no letters of administration to his estate were ever taken out."

Stubbes's mother-in-law, Mrs. Emmes, is described by him as "a Dutch woman, both discreete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie . . . both religious and verie zealous" (p. 197), and yet she must have been a very Wife of Bath in the matter of husbands, 'one down, t'other come on.' Probably after her third husband's death, she in 1586 "bestowed her [daughter Katherine by her second husband, William Emmes,] in marriage to one maister Stubbes"—our Phillip—p. 197, below, and Col. Chester kindly sends me the following account of her:—

"The mother of Catherine Stubbes (née Emmes) was also named Catherine, and she was first the wife of one Reginald Melchior (or Melcher), whose will, as of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, dated 22 Sept. 1563, she proved 12 Nov. following. Melchior directed his body to be buried in St. Martin's Church-yard. He merely left small sums to his apprentice and his maid, and the residue of his possessions equally to his wife Catherine and his son Melchior.

"The widow did not grieve long, for on the 8th of November

§ 5. Stubbes's Mother-in-law. A. Woods Life of him. 53.

1563, four days before she proved her husband Melchior's will, a license was granted by the Bishop of London for her marriage with William Emmes, then of St. Sepulchre's, London. They subse-

quently lived in Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West."

"The will of William Emmes, Citizen and Cordwainer of London, is dated 26 Nov. 1583. He bequeathed considerable property in houses, &c. to his wife Catharine, and his children, William, John, Catherine [Stubbes's wife], Anne, Susan, and Alice, all under age. The widow Catharine Emmes proved the will 14 Jan. 1583/4.

"Four days later, viz. 18 Jan 1583/4, the Bishop of London granted another license for her to marry Richard Tompkins, of St Mary at Hill, London. She outlived her third husband, for, on the 24th of April, 1591, letters of administration to her estate, as a widow, were granted to her daughter Alice, who was then wife of

(blank) Dumper."

(Of course the natural temptation has been yielded to, 1 to make

1 By Antony Wood (or his informant)—whose account of Stubbes (not in his 1st ed.) is printed in inverted commas in Bliss's ed. of the Ath. Oxon. i. 645, and is as follows: -- "Philip Stubbs or Stubbes, was born of genteel parents, but where, one of his descendants of both his names who is a vintner in London, [Philip Stubbs, a vintner, living in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft in London (note)] knows not, nor can he positively affirm whether he received his education in either of the universities or not. Be it known therefore, that he was mostly educated in Cambridge, but having a restless and hot head, left that university, rambled thro' several parts of the nation, and setled for a time in Oxon, particularly, as I conceive, in Glocester-hall, where a brother or near kinsman called Justinian Stubbs, M[aister] of A[rts] and a civilian, studied, by which name and titles I find him there in the beginning of 1589. This Ph. Stubbs was a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time; and tho' not in sacred orders yet the books he wrote related to divinity and morality, as the titles of them following partly shew." He then gives the titles of (b) the Two Judgments, 1581; (c) View of Vanity 1582; (e) Rosary 1583; (d) Anatomy 1583, noting 'divers corrections in and additions to it;' (g) Theatre of the Pope's Monarchy 1584. oct.; (j) Perfect Path to Felicity 1592; (k) Motive to Good Works 1593; (?) " Praise and Commendation of Women, Printed in oct. This I have not seen, † and therefore I cannot give you a larger title." (i) "Christial glass for Christian Women. Lond. 1626." speaks of Stubbes's wife, and says, " Near of kin, if not brother, or father to this Philip, was Joh. Stubs of Lincolns-inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of A Discovery of a gaping Gulph for England. Printed 1579, oct."

^{• &}quot;Ded to Phil. E. of Arundel; black letter, double pages 125. Printed by Ric. Jones. At the back of the last page is a wooden cut of a man in a gown, round bonnet, stooping, and holding a pair of gloves in his left hand. The book penes Mr. Lort of Trin. coll. Cambr., who in May 1772, gave 71. 6d. for it at Mr. Joseph Hart's auction of books." Cole. † Nor has any one else that I can hear of.

54 § 5. John Stubbe of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579.

Philip Stubbes, "near of kin, if not father or brother" of the noble Puritan, John Stubbe¹, (or Stubbes,) who in 1579 (not 1581) wrote against the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Popish Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother—"The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof"; and who had his right hand chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet² for his sensible

1 See the interesting memoir of him in Cooper's Ath. Cant. ii. 111-12.

² See Camden's Annales englisht, 1625, Bk. III. p. 14-16. His account is the best: "Her Maiestie likewise burned with choller that there was a booke published in print, inucighing sharply against the marriage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled 'A gaping gulfe to swallow up England by a French marriage.' In this Pamphlet the Priny Councillors which fauoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene, as not understanding well her selfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke d'Anjou and his country of France in contumelious tearmes shamefully reviled: the marriage condemned, for the diuersitie of Religions, by poisonous words and passages of Scripture, miserably wrested, would seem to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the sonne of Antichrist, it must needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene Elizabeth bee perswaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpose, but to bring her into hatred with her subjects, and to open a gap to some prodigious innouation. . . .

"Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans then shee had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their priuitie: and within a few dayes after, Iohn Stubbes of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatiue Pamphlet (whose Sister, Thomas Cartwright the Arch-Puritan had married), William Page the disperser of the copies, and Singleton the Printer, were apprehended; against whom sentence was giuen, that their right hands should be cut off, by a law in the time of Philip and Marie against the Authors of Seditious Writings, and those that disperse them. Some lawyers storming hereat, said the iudgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false observation of the time wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene Marie dying) it dyed with her. Of the which Lawyers, one Dalton, for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and Monson, a Iudge of the Common-pleas, was sharply

rebuked, and his place taken from him. . . .

"Not long after, [Nov. 3, 1579, not 1581, as Stowe says, Annales, 1605, p. 1168], vpona Stage set vp in the Market-place at Westminster, Stubbes and Page had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that, standing

See "His Wordes upon the Scaffolde when he lost his Haund on Tewsdaie, 3 November, 1579." In Nuga Antiqua.—Cooper.

and manly tract. But Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, has a copy of the wills of the righthandless John Stubbs and his father, John Stubbe of Buxton, Norfolk, and in neither of them is there any mention of Philip Stubbes.)

§ 6. Stubbes's Works. Of these, eleven have survived to our day in title, and eight in copies. Of the eleven only six, and of the eight only five, were entered on the Stationers' Registers, if I can trust my search through the second volume of the (alas!) indexless Transcript of Mr. Arber. They are:—

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXV10. primo die Martij

Richard Jones. Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of LONDON and both the wardens. The Anatomye of abuses. by Phillipe stubbes. vj⁴

Transcript, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXV¹⁰. Tertio Die Augusti.

by Iohn Stubbes, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with his left, and cryed aloud, God sane the Queene. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with seare at the first sight of this strange kind of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this marriage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion." Sir Walter Scott and Macaulay have word-painted the scene.

The 8vo mentiond by Antony Wood, The Praise and Commendation of Women, is not reckond in the 11, as I doubt the author of The Anatomic, Part 1., which scarified women so, ever having written a 'Praise' of Women in general, the he did praise his own dead wife. Moreover, we've no record of the Praise book being seen by any one; and none of the long list of books on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's Handbook, and Collections and Notes suits Wood's title except 'to y Prayse of Good women,' y xiiij chapter of y Proverbis, licenst to John Alde in 1568 (Arber's Transcript, i. 378), which is too early for Stubbes. 'The Praise and Dispraise of Women' in 1579 won't of course do.

I don't think—as Mr. Reardon did, Old Sh. Soc. Papers, iii. 15; and Mr. Collier, Bibl. Cat., ii. 399—that Gabriel Harvey necessarily meant to include Stubbes in "the common Pamfletters of London" (p. 42°, L. 9 above), or we might suppose that many of Stubbes's works have been lost. There is no "other" before Harvey's "common," as there ought to be if Mr. Reardon's and Mr. Collier's view were right; and against it, is also Harvey's after praise of Stubbes for his filed lines (p. 43° above). Harvey meant to distinguish Stubbes from the "common Pamfletters," not confuse him with em.

56 § 6. Stubbes's Works in the Stationers' Registers.

1583. 25 Eliz. Septimo Die Nouembris/

William wright.

Licenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes The second parte of Thanotomye of Abuses 1. . . vjd

Transcript, ii. 428.

1591. An. Eliz. 33°. xv10 Junij

Richard Jones./ 1593. An. Eliz. 35to. xiiijto. die Octobris/

Thomas Man./ [Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij

James Robertes Entred for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies whiche were John Charlewoodes / Saluo Jure Cuiuscunque xiii⁸ iiij⁴ C

The Rosary of Christian Praiers

Transcript, ii. 651.

a. But Stubbes had begun printing as early at least as 1581, when (or earlier) he issued a broadside, with a woodcut, "A fearefull and

1 "9 Augusti [1596].

Thomas Creede Entred for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These ffyve Copies whiche were assigned from William wright to Thomas Scarlet, and from Thomas Scarlet to the said Thomas Crede iis vid

. . . Item the second parte of the Anatomye of abuses called the Displaye of Corruptions." Transcript, iii. 68.

² iijº Julij [1596].

master Whyte warden Entred for his Copyes these thinges followinge, viz. Catheryne Stubes, vjd (with The scole of vertue, vjd; Twenty Orders of Calettes and Drabes, vjd... The ffyve and Twentye orders of knaues, vjd.)

Transcript, iii. 187.

Edward White's estate in 'Katherine Stubes' was assignd to Master Pauler and John Wright on Dec. 13, 1620 (*Trans.* iv. 44), and Pavier's share was, after his death, assignd by his widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde (*Transcript*, iv. 164-5).

terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood: which may be a Caueat to all the World that they blaspheme not the name of their God by Swearing. [Colophon] Finis. Philip Stubbes. Imprinted at London for W. Wright, and are to be Sold at his shop in the Poultrie." Reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier in his "Broadside Black-letter Ballads, printed in the 16th & 17th Centuries, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier," 4°, 1868, p. 42—7. This is a ballad of 102 lines (25 verses, and a tag) of 7-measure or 14-syllable couplets, describd by Stubbes at p. 135 below, as telling the awful end of "a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declaration thereof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by Gods bloud."

The story being given at p. 135 below, I quote only a few verses of the ballad from its second edition in the Lambeth Library (sign. B. i. and B. ii.), to show the doggrel it is written in:—

"There is a towne in Lincolneshire, which Bothbie hath to name, Just three miles distant from Grantam, a towne of auncient fame.

(A)

Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde,
Who Frauncis Penell called is, this may not be denyed.

It pleased God this Gentleman, into his house did hyre
A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire.

(5)

Which sayd youngman inclyned was, vnto a thing not good, As for to sweare by Christ his flesh, and by his precious blood. 18

(12)

He had no sooner spoke these wordes, which I have shewed to you, But that a-pace his heart blood did, foorth of his boody flowe; 46 For why, out of his fingers endes, his blood did streame full faste; So did it foorth at his toes endes, which made them all agaste. 48

¹ Hazlitt's Collections and Notes, p. 410, col. 1, from which, and Hazlitt's Handbook, most of the after titles, &c., are given.

Thus died he, communiting his soule to the furies fell,
Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell.
Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth) forlorne,
For whome it had beene better farre, if he had not beene borne." 56
(Old) Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1v. 77-9, 1849.

b. Stubbes's second known publication contains his first ballad, with a second like one in 114 long lines, couplets—probably first issued as a broadside too—and prose forewords and hindwords, the latter calld "An admonition to the Christian Readers, inferred vpon the two straunge Stratagems before passed." The whole-forms a 4to pamphlet of ten leaves (A & B in fours, C in 2), of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library, and a reprint by Mr. James Purcell Reardon in the *Papers* of the Old Shakespeare Society, IV. 73-88. The title is:—

"Two wunderfull and / rare Examples. / Of the vndeferred and present / approching iudgement of the Lord our God: the / one vpon a wicked and pernitious blasphe-/mer of the name of God, and seruaunt / to one Maister Frauncis Pennell, / Gentleman, dwelling at Booth-/bie, in Lincolnshire, three / myles from Grantham./ The other vpon a vvoman, named / Ioane Bowser, dwelling at Donnington, in Lei-/cestershire, to whome the Deuill verie / straungely appeared, as in the dis-/course following, you may / reade. In Iune last. 1581. / VVritten by Phillip Stubbes. / Imprinted at London for / VVilliam VVright, and are to be solde at / his shoppe in the Poultrie: the middle / shoppe in the rowe, adioyning to / Saint Mildreds Church./"

The story of the second ballad is told in the prose forewords, sign. A, iij, (p. 75-6, Sh. Soc.): how in Donnington, Leicestershire, there

"dwelled a poore man named Iohn Twell, who deceased, owing unto one Oswald Bowcer the summe of fiue shilling, which the sayde Oswalde did forgiue the sayde man before named, as he lay vpon his death bedde; but the sayde Oswaldes wife, called Ioane, would in no wise forgiue the sayde Twell as long (she sayde) as she had day to liue. Wherevpon, not long after, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the forme of the sayd Twell, deceased, expressing all the lyneamentes of the body of the dead man . . . this euill spirit vttered unto her these speeches, and sayd he had brought her mony from Iohn Twell deceased, and willed her incontinent to disburse the sayd money vnto her husband for his paines. Which she, with

as couetous a desire, receyued, saying, 'God thanke you.' She had no sooner named God, but the money consumed away from betweene her handes, as it were a vapour or smoake, tyll it was all consumed: wherwith the Deuill, giuing her a most fearefull and sore stroke,

vanished out of her sight.

"Wherewith her whole body, became as blacke as pitche, replenished all ouer with a most filthy scurffe and other thinges, which was so odious, as heere my pen for modesties sake leaueth to wright... her body was most straungely benummed, and her eyes closed vp from the benefite of the light. Thus remayning a certaine space, she confessed the hardnesse of her heart, and with great patience thanked God for his judgementes bestowed on her. Wherevpon, to be breefe, it pleased God, seeing her repentaunce, to reuoke his Iustice, and to restore her vnto her former health, where she remayned, praysing the name of God for his great mercies bestowed upon her."

At the end of this ballad, Stubbes calls on Donnington to repent, and talks of the love he bears the town, as if he knew it well and had some connection with it. And as his objection to dancing and piping, which he shows in his *Anatomie*, comes out too, I quote a few lines from sign. B. iiij. back, and C. i.:—

"Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent 83

God hath thee warned now by this, and that in freendly sorte, 87 To leave thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy sporte.

(23)

Abandon, then, out of thy streates, all mirthe and minstrelsie;
No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be, 90
Remember thou thy lately plague, of blayne, of Botche, and Bile [boil],

Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least synne should thee defile.

(24)

O Donington, fall not againe vnto thy vomite old;
In filthy, scurrile, bawdie talke, doo not thy selfe vphold;
Ne yet with vaine and bloody othes, doo not thy selfe imbrew, (p. 86)
For than the Lord will throwe thee downe amid the Deuils crew 96

¹ The Rev. John G. Bourn, the Vicar of Castle Donnington near Derby has kindly searcht his Registers for 1550—1600, and finds no Stubbes or Bowcer entry, but one of John Twell (who may have been Stubbes's man), marrid 5 May 1567; John Twell baptizd 18 June 1583; John Twell son of John Twell, baptizd 1589, died (?) 25 March.

60 § 6. Stubbes's View of Vanitie; and Anatomie, Pt. 1.

And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me
Who haue with paines contriued this same, for looue I beare to
thee.

(27)

Requite me not with wrath againe: that were disloyaltie, But see that thou accept hereof, as best beseemeth thee; And as a pledge of my good will, let this be vnto thee, Desiring God, that I thy state, in health and wealth may see."

- c. Of Stubbes's third publication, no copy is known. It was "A View of Vanitie, and Allarum to England or Retrait from Sinne, in English Verse by Phil. Stubs. London, by T. Purfoot. 1582. 8vo."
- d. His fourth was the famous Anatomie of Abuses, entered in the Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo, here reprinted. The success of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at London, by Richard Iones. 16. August 1583. [Colophon] Perused, aucthorised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appoincted in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter. (Collation: ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon and device²). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone 526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition of the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author [Quotations].

¹ There are 3 copies of it in the Bodleian,—Crynes 833, Tanner 120, 8°. S. 269. Art. Mr. F. Ouvry has the copies of the 1st and 2nd editions described by Mr. Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.* ii.

² The woodcut on the last page is that of a man in a round cap and long gown, stooping, his arms both stretching to the left, with a glove in his left hand; whereas the woodcut at the end of the 1st edition is of a lady seated, and looking over her right shoulder, with a flower in her hand.

Formerly treated by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Hazlitt after him (and me after them), as 2 editions, the 3rd and 4th. Mr. C. (Bibl. Cat. ii. 393) states that "the fourth edition, also dated 1584, is without any specification of the month. We have examined all anterior impressions of the book and their dates, so that we are in a condition to speak positively on the subject." But can one trust him?

and Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12 October, 1584, 8° black letter1"; this has A—R 4 in eights, says Mr. Hazlitt, the colophon on R 4 repeating the date of the year, but not the month. In 1585 the fourth edition came out, and was still calld the third2: "now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. . . 1585." (A copy is in the British Museum, and has been collated for the present edition.) Then came a stay for ten years, when the fifth edition (calld the fourth) was publisht, "Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by the same Author. . . Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595." 4to, 76 leaves. Of this edition two copies are in the Bodleian (Malone 527, and Tanner 120) and have been collated for the present book. Mr. Huth also has a copy.

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the Anatomie, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his Bibliographical Catalogue, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of the plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revised his Anatomie for the edition of 1595, and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his Perfect Pathway of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the Anatomie after its first publication were mainly these:—

1. he left out of the 2nd and all after editions, his *Preface to the Reader*, in which he had said that he didn't want to put down all amusements, but only the abuses in them, and had allowd that some kind of Plays, dancing in private, and gaming that wasn't

¹ "A perfect copy in the original vellum wrapper has been recently discovered," Mr. Hazlitt tells me (Aug. 8, 1879), and is in the possession of Mr. A. Wallis, 88, Friar Gate, Derby, Editor of the *Derby Mercury*. Mr. Pyne has the imperfect copy mentiond in Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*.

² The late Mr. Turnbull reprinted this, with a short Introduction.

² See notes, p. iii, viii, ix, 50, 52, 53, &c., &c.

⁴ In F he left out his Latin verses, p. xiv, A. D.'s commendatory poem, p. xvii, and his own verses on 'The Avthor and his Booke,' p. xix-xx, below; in B, &c., he put in a poem by "C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations," p. xv-xvi, below.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES,

62 § 6. Changes in the 2nd and 6th eds. of the Anatomie.

gambling, were innocent. He evidently wrote, and perhaps printed, this Preface before he wrote all his book, and then saw that it was more or less inconsistent with the book itself, which denounst Plays, &c., so fiercely, and calld out loudly for their abolition.

2. he put in the story at p. 71-3 of the Devil setting the Antwerp woman's ruff, and wringing her neck for it; the bit in p. 79 note, about Looking-glasses being the Devil's bellows; the 21 pages, p. 87-9, on the bad way in which women spend their days and meet their paramours in Gardens in the suburbs; the bit on p. 99 against allowing whoredom for a fine; the stories in 111-13 of the Devil burning up the 7 Swabian drunkards, and on 113-14 of the awful end of the 2 Dutch drunkards; the new chapter, of 7 pages in our text, on Greate Swearyng in Ailgna, p. 129-136, and the instance of the English Jew who fell into a privy on his Sabbath, and died there rather than 'break or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth,' p. 139. Some fresh sidenotes were added in B 1583, E 1585, and F 1595 (or the uncollated edition of 1584): see p. 41, 53, 62, 63, 81, 82, 83, 87, 103, 111-14, 122, 130-6, &c.; and some fresh chapter-headings. The worth of the Anatomie is too well known to need any dwellingon by me, and so are the strength and raciness of Stubbes's wordsthe ruffs that go flip-flap in the wind, and lie on men's shoulders like the dish-clout of a slut (p. 51), the women who are 'puppits or maumets of rags and cloutes compact together' (p. 75), the boys who care for nothing, so that they have 'their pretie pussie to huggle withall' (p. 97), the usurer, 'thou Deuill, for I dare not call thee a man' (p. 127), the dancers, 'what kissing and bussing, what smouthing and slabbering one another' (p. 155), the minstrels who pipe up a dance to the devil (p. 172), the football players, when two charge one, 'to hit him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering deuiees' (p. 184), the 'vgglesome monsters and Deuills' (p. 188), &c, &c.

Another change that Stubbes made in his 1595 edition (our F) was of his earlier inkhorn terms into simpler ones. Here are a few instances taken at random:—

A. tractation F. discourse

A. preparaunce
F. great preparation

A. momentaine F. momentary	115	A. introite F. entrance	154
A. acuate 128 F. whette	128	A. instinction [on-pricking] if F. instinct	157
A. implicate F. entangled	129	A. preter time F. former ages	157
A. denegers of (the faithe) F. reprobates concerning	134	A. quauemire or plash 159, 1 F. quagmire or puddle	168
A. abdicate (themselves) F. abandon	134	A. obtused F. dulled	161
A. evacuate F. haue discended	136	A. babish F. wanton	161
A. God his (left at 189) F. Gods	142	A. distincted :	165
A. exordium 145, F. original	154	A. victimats and holocaustes in F. and oblations	168
A. procliue F. prone	146	A. Hethenicall 168, 1 F. Heathnish	177
A. allections 146, F. enticements	155	A. auditorie :	169
A. instinction F. instinct	148	A. fucate F. counterfeit	174
A. exterior action F. outward show	152	A. promulgat F. published	176
A. templaries & oratories	152	A. vendicate commend-	
F. temples and churches		ations F. challenge rewards	177
A. saturitie F. fulnesse	153		178
A. determinat	153	F. annull	
F. prefixed			181
A. circumvalled 153, F. compassed about	162	F. humbled A. preiudicing	182
A. concions		F. annoying	102
F. preachings	154	A. consummate 183, 1 F. ended	191

But he has lest amarulent, 147; alatrate, 149; conculcate, 183, &c.; and in one case he has turned the simpler trinckets of A, 82, to supellectiles in E and F: probably more of like kind occur. In F, too, Stubbes gave up his absurd way in A of spelling certain

64 § 6. Stubbes's Rosarie, Anatomie II, against Papists.

proper names backwards: Ailgna, for Anglia, England; Eprautna (71), for Antwerp; Lewedirb (100), for Bridewell; Munidnol (59), for Londinum, London; Ainatirb (21), for Britannia; Ratsurb (100), for Brustar; Enlocnilshire (135), for Lincolneshire; Notelgnoc for Congleton (136), &c. Erichsseheshire for Cheshire (135) he had given up in E (1585) or before.

e. Stubbes's fifth book was "The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations for divers Purposes, and at divers Times, as well of the day as of the Night, by Phill. Stubbes. Lond. by Iohn Charlewood, 1583, 18mo." It was enterd in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 3, 1583, and assignd to James Roberts on May 31, 1594, but no copy is now known.

f. Stubbes's sixth book was the "The / Second part / of the Anatomie of / Abuses, conteining The display / of Corruptions, with a perfect de-/scription of such imperfections, blemi-/shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-/ric degree, require reformation for feare / of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon/ the people and countrie, without / speedie repentance and con/uersion vnto God: made/dialogwise by Phil-/lip Stubbes. / Except your righteousnes exceed London, Printed by Ro[ger] W[ard] for William Wright,/ and are to be sold at his shop ioining / to S. Mildreds Church in the/ Poultrie, being the mid-/dle shop in the rowe." [1583]. A—P in eights: a little 8vo of 5½ inches high by 35/8ths broad, 2 copies at Lambeth, 1 in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., 1 in the Bodleian, &c. As I've already given the list of this book's subjects (p. 36*), and mean to print it for the Society, I need say no more about it now. It was enterd in the Stationers' Registers in Nov. 7, 1583.

In the 1583 edition of Foxe's Martyrs ('Ecclesiastical History Actes and Monumentes,' &c.), the following eight lines of Stubbes's, on the Papist Bloodsuckers or Leeches, appeard at the end of the commendatory Poems, sign. ¶ iiij. They are not in the edition of 1570, but are repeated in that of 1596:—

"In sanguisugas Papistas, Philippus Stubbes.

Vi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum, Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic stimulum,

§ 6. Stubbes's Popes Monarchie, & Parry's Treason. 65*

Florida quæ nimio compresse est pondere palma, Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.
Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit Hoc magis, excrescit, floret, eoque magis.
Sic Εναγγελίον quantumnis turba papalis
Conspuat, exurat, crescit, vbique tamen.
Finis."

g. Of the seventh book: "The Theatre of the Popes Monarchie. by Phil. Stubbes. Lond. for Henry Carre. 1584. 8vo," no copy is known.

h. His eighth, a 4to tract of 4 leaves, is represented by copies in the Lambeth and Huth Libraries, and was reprinted (with a few changes) by Mr. Reardon in the Old Shakespeare Society's Papers, iii. 17—21:

"The / Intended Trea-/son, of Doctor Parrie:/ and his Complices, A-/gainst the Queenes moste / Excellent Maiestie./ With a Letter sent from the Pope / to the same effect./ Imprinted at London / for Henry Car, / and are to be solde / in Paules Church-yard at the Signe / of the Blazing Starre. /" (1585.)

This little tract must have been written between Febr. 25, 1585, when Stubbes says that Parry "was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided," and March 2, when he was hangd. The object of the tract was to state Parry's crime, to print the Pope's letter to him—'written by the Cardinall of Como'—encouraging him to his crime, and granting him plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins, and to make Englishmen hate the Pope and papists:—

"One Doctor Parrie, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, being (though beyond his deserts) very deer vnto her maiestie, and wel liked of, was by her grace sent ouer Seas in very waightie affaires, which he wel atchiuing, returned home, and no doubt was bountefully rewarded of her grace for his seruice and paines sustained: within a while after, this Doctor Parrie, vnwoorthy the name of a doctor or of a Christian, conspired the death of her maiestie, hauing

¹ And, as Stowe says in his Annales (1605), p. 1180, "The 2. day of Marche [1584—5] William Parry was drawne from the Tower through the city of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, bowelled, and quartered for high treason, as may appeare by a booke extant, initialed 'A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by W. Parry' &c. & I have set downe the same booke in the continuance of Reine Woolfe's Chronicle" [calld by us, Holinshed's, ed. 1587, vol. ii. p. 1382—95].

66° § 6. Stubbes's Parry's Treason, & Life of his Wife.

received his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which moste hainous fact, he, with another, determined to kill her maiestie, sometimes with a Dag, sometimes with a Poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he having promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and upon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case provided sign. A. ij. (p. 18).

"What good subject, now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischeef, of blood and of treason, wil not abhor and detest the one & y° other? (A. iij. back, p. 20). . . . take this for a Maxime, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how socuer otherwise they beare the world in hand (p. 20) . . . blood, treason, rebellion, insurrections, commotions, mutenies, murther, and the like, are the badges and cognizaunce of them, and of that wicked generation; and let vs look for it, they wil be pricks vnto our eyes, whips unto our backs, and kniues to cut our throts withall, if time would serue them, which I pray God neuer doo" (sign. A. iiij.—p. 21).

i. Stubbes's ninth book was his Life of his Wife, or Christal Glasse for Christian Women, 1591, enterd on the Stationers' Registers on June 15, 1591. Mr. Henry Pyne has been kind enough to lend me his unique copy of the first edition.² From it the part in which Stubbes describes his wife and her relation to him, is printed below, p. 195—208, the doctrinal part being left out. That Stubbes loved his young wife, and did his duty by her, is clear. The picture of the stern grave husband and the sweet girl-wife looking up to him, never contrarying him, but gently persuading, listening to his exposition of Holy Writ, is surely one grateful to the mind, notwithstanding its dark background of hard religionism.

j. Stubbes's tenth book is also in part reprinted below, p. 209.

"A perfect Pathway / to Felicitie,/ Conteining godly / Meditations, and prai-/ers, fit for all times, and / necessarie to be prac-/tized of all good / Christians./ Imprinted at Lon-/don by Richard Yardly / for Humfrey Lownes" / 1592./. My copy, believed to be

¹ Pistole: F. A Pistoll; a great (horsemans) Dag . . Pistolet; m. A Pistolet; a Dag, or little Pistoll-1611. Colgrave.

² The 2nd edition, 1592, is in the Huth Collection. The tract was printed as late as 1658. Of that edition I have a copy,

§ 6. Stubbes's Pathway, and Motive to good Workes. 67*

unique, is imperfect. It is a little squarish book, much cut down, of 378 in. high, by 23 broad, every page having a printed border. Collation: ¶ in 8, and A to P in 8s; no doubt the last three leaves, and perhaps ¶ 1 too, were blank. The Contents of it are printed below. p. 210 and p. 212, the titles of the missing Prayers being given from the only other edition known to me, that of 1610, the only known copy of which the late Mr. Henry Huth, with his never-failing friendship, lent me. This 1610 edition has 15 more Prayers than that of 1592—their titles are given at the foot of p. 212,—and I suppose that Stubbes livd till 1610 to write them. The 20 pages of Prayers, &c., reprinted below, are from the 1610 edition, as the 1592 one did not turn up till after my pages were cast. I chose those Prayers which interested me most—not forgetting that on p. 220-1 below, which mentions 'those fleas and gnats' that in bed did bite the skin of Stubbes, as their fellows must have done that of Shakspere. These Prayers convinct me that their writer was a pureminded earnest man, not only a bitter railer. Taking them with the other works, I cannot but feel a real respect for Stubbes; and all who wish to understand him should read them.

& Of the eleventh and last known work of Stubbes, only one copy seems to have been lately extant, and that belongd to Mr. J. P. Collier, but has (he says) been stolen from him. He thus describes it in his Bibliographical Catalogue, ii. 400-1:—

"A Motive to good Workes. Or rather, to true Christianitie indeede. Wherein by the waie is shewed, how farre wee are behinde, not onely our forefathers in good workes, but also many other creatures in the endes of our creation: with the difference betwixt the pretenced good workes of the Antichristian Papist, and the good workes of the Christian Protestant.—By Phillip Stubbes, Gentleman.—Matthew. 5. verse 16. Let your light so shine, &c.—London, Printed for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater Noster rowe, at the signe of the Talbot. 1593. 8vo. 114 leaves.

"In quoting the sacred text, which the author chose as the motto of his book, it is singular that he, or his printer, should have left out

so important a word as 'good' before 'workes.'

"This is the only copy of the book that we ever met with: Lowndes originally mentioned it, and the short title is given in the new edition, p. 2539; but in both it is erroneously dated 1592: it is entirely prose.

68. § 6. Stubbes's 11th book, A Motive to good Workes.

"Stubbes, in his dedication, tells Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London for the year, that 'he took his gelding about the Annunciation of S. Mary last past 1,1 and made a journey, which lasted about three months, into various parts of the kingdom, partly for pleasure, and partly to avoid the infection of the then raging plague. As he subscribes it 'from my lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593' we may conclude that by that date the virulence of the disorder had considerably abated. He complains that he every where found the country fertile and beautiful, but the people utterly unworthy of it -a deplorable deficiency of good workes, and a lamentable decay of hospitals, almshouses, churches, schools, &c. His object in writing his book is therefore evident, and in a brief address 'to the courteous Reader' he apologises for the unadorned plainness of his style:-'I have not desired to be curious, neither to affect filed phrases, culled or picked sentences, nor yet loftie, haughtie or farre tetched epithetes.'

"Considering the purpose for which the author travelled, we might reasonably expect some minute and interesting details of what he saw in the country nearly three centuries ago; but we have little beyond general invective and pious lamentation over the prevailing vices, until we arrive at p. 184, where remarks are made upon the facility with which a license was obtained for a worthless or immoral book, while permission to publish a religious or meritorious work was long delayed. As this is a point which he had touched upon in his 'Anatomy of Abuses [p. 185, below]' we

transcribe only a few sentences; he says—

'I cannot a lyttle mervayle that our grave and reverend Bishops, and other inferiour magistrates and officers, to whom the oversight and charge of such things are committed, will either license (which I trust they do not, for I wyll hope better of them) or in anie sorte tollerate such railing libels and slanderous pamphlets as have beene of late published in print, one man against another, to the great dishonour of God, corruption of good manners, breach of charitie, and in a worde to the just offence and scandall of all good Christians. And truely, to speake my conscience freely, I thinke there cannot a greater mischiefe be suffered in a common wealth, than for one man to write against another, and to publish it in print to the viewe of the world.'

"In this passage we can scarcely fail to observe an allusion to the very personal controversy about this date so vigorously carried on, through the medium of the press, between Nash and Harvey. The Martin-marprelate feud was also then at its height, and Stubbes, as a zealous Puritan, sincerely sympathised with his pen-persecuted brethren.² He proceeds:—

1 25 March, 1593.

² And had a direct personal feeling about it besides: see Nashe's attacks on him, p. 37°—41° above. But it is surely to Stubbes's credit that (so far as we know) he didn't, like Galriel Harvey, answer Nashe's personal railing by personal railing, as he could easily have done, but protested against the practice. It's a height of virtue which I have not yet reacht.

§ 6. Stubbes's Motive, 1593. § 7. His Character. 69.

'I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chiefest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere uppon earth. For is not this the next' way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulacion, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next' way to make bloudshed and murther, to rayse up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookes and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallowes, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adayes it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeares before he can have it allowed, and in the end happly rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and traveyled long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buryed in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilest in the meane tyme other bookes, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conycatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickely licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.'

"At all events Stubbes had not much reason to complain of delay: he collected his materials in the summer of 1593, wrote his book on his return in November, and published it, duly registered

[Oct. 14] and licensed, before the end of the year.

"He is especially vehement on the neglected and ruinous state of the churches in the country and does not spare the Roman Catholics and Jesuits for their many attempts on the Queen's life, enumerating Parry (about whom he had himself written), Somerville, Arden, Throckmorton and Babington as among the principal offenders."²

§ 7. Stubbes's Character. On Sunday, July 17, 1575, and the Tuesday after, the Coventry folk, led by the great Captain Cox, playd before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, their Hock-Tuesday Play, of how the English men and women drove out the Danes, A.D. 1012. They had been wont to act the play yearly in their city, but it had been "of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, onless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: men very commendable for their behaviour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching away their pastime." Now something of this kind may, I think, fairly be said of Stubbes. The his

1 next is the contraction of 'nighest,' as Aert of 'highest.'

³ Captain Cox or Laneham's Letter, p. 27 of my edition for the Ballad Society. Who'll give us £35, to issue it for the New Shakspere Society?

² On p. 402, Mr. Collier, besides trying to take a dozen or more years off Stubbes's life by making him die of the plague in 1593, thinks "It is rather singular that in the [Motive to Good Worker, 1593] Stubs says nothing of the death of his wife which had occurred on the 14th December preceding," or 1592. But 1590 was the year of Katherine Stubbes's death: see p. 195 below.

Anatomie can't be calld a 'sweet' book, yet his purpose in writing it was a righteous one :-

"Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discouering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, and daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to the true Phisition and expert Chirurgion of their soules, Christ Iesus, of whome onelie commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saued," p. 26 below.

And tho he cut out in after editions, the moderate and sensible Preface to the Reader, 1 p. x-xiii below, which he wrote to his first edition, yet there stands his declaration of his meaning in the book, that it was the abuse, not the use, of amusements that he condemnd: "take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill; being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused; yet, because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselues remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away." p. xii; see too p. x.

And granting that Stubbes went beyond this limit in the body of his book, yet one knows that the evils he was denouncing were real sores in the common weal, and one sees how easily he, believing that the Day of Doom was close at hand (p. 187), would be led to speak, maybe too sharply, of the ridiculous petty vanities and fooleries that were going on daily and hourly around him. There was something better for English men and women to do in Shakspere's days than dress themselves like 'a dog in a doublet,' and paint themselves like harlots; and if Stubbes while calling on

¹ I attach no value whatever to Mr. Collier's suggestion that Stubbes withdrew his Preface on account of the issue of 'a public order . . forbidding the profanation of Sunday by the representation of plays and interludes.' Why should this make him withdraw his moderate Preface, and yet make him maintain his fierce attack on Sunday plays in the after part of his book? And I suppose that the following paragraph is due to that imagination of Mr. Collier's which gave us his versions of the Alleyn letters (Audelay and Harman, E. E. T. S. xxv), Blackfriars petitions, &c: "We can readily believe that, considering the offence it had given at Court and elsewhere, he [Stubbes] was glad also to omit what he had said, in the first instance, on the subject of indecency and extravagance in dress." Bibl. Cat. ii. 394. The denouncings are made fiercer, if anything, in the 2nd edition; the Preface is withdrawn only because it weakend the attack in the text,

them to do this better thing, also calld them idiots, and all the hard names he could lay his tongue to, let us hold that he was right in his main purpose, if he errd somewhat in his way of carrying it out.

And if we read his meditations and prayers, and give him credit—as we surely may—for trying to do and be, from dawn till sleep came upon him, what he askt others to pray to do and be, in their daily life, I do not think we shall deny to Philip Stubbes a pure spirit, an earnest soul, a longing to be one with God, and fit himself and the world around him for the habitation of the Holy One, in whom he with his whole heart believed.

§. 8 Miscellaneous. a. The illustrations. As Stubbes writes so much about the dress of his period, I thought our members—the foreign and colonial ones especially—would like to have some authentic reproductions of trustworthy specimens of that dress: hence our héliogravure (by M. Dujardin) of Virtue's large engraving of Queen Elizabeth's Herbert Procession in 1600, from Lord Ilchester's picture, and the other cuts from Planché's late work on Costume. For the Ballad cuts that follow the above, I cannot claim equal authority; but as they could be had for the price of the casts of them, they were added, and Mr Ebsworth has been so kind as to write an interesting Memorandum on them.

The cause of Elizabeth's Procession was her going to the marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell. A short notice of the event is given, says Mr. G. Scharf (Archaol. Journal, xxiii, 231), in the Sidney Papers, ii, 203:—

[&]quot;Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, June 23, 1600:-

[&]quot;This day se'night her Majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of Lord Harbert and his wife. The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had prouided a lectica, made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr. Puddins (Sir Wm. Paddy's house) who gave the Queen a fanne to my Lord Cobham's, where she supped . . . Her Majesty upon Tuesday came backe againe to the court."

p. 137: "It may be observed, with reference to the costume of the Queen, that the wide-spreading, radiating ruff, open in front so as to show the neck, appears to be a peculiarity of the Queens latest

¹ Littèra, a horselytter, Lection. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Diet.

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601. Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

"All the noblemen's cloaks are black satin, and of the short Spanish cut. All legs are remarkably thin. The shoes are uniformly white, with ties of the same colour on the instep. All the courtiers, with the exception of the Earl of Cumberland, wear full-spreading

lace-ruffs." Scharf, p. 143. The bride is in white.

As to the house in the background, the antiquary whose loss we all so lament, Mr. J. G. Nichols, said (Arch. Journal, xxiii, 302) that he

- "... did not attribute much reality to the landscape in the background, except that it may give a general idea of the detached buildings then existing in the fields and gardens on the Surrey side of the river. He regarded the grand house immediately behind the figures as the mansion of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, notwithstanding that the procession is represented as already passing it by. This house, after the attainder of Lord Cobham in 1603, passed to Lord Hunsdon, and then acquired the name of Hunsdon House,—whence the confusion with the Queen's visit to Hunsdon House in Hertfordshire. . . . Inquiry being made where the house stood, Mr. Nichols replied that he believed very near the site of the famous Blackfriars Theatre (shown in the map by Playhouse Yard), in which Shakspeare was a partner: subsequently occupied by the Kings Printing-office, and now by that of the Times newspaper in Printing-house Square."
- b. The Extracts from Stubbes's other works are added to enable the reader to judge Stubbes's character better than the Anatomie alone allows them to do, and for the picture of his girl wife,—a bride at between 14 and 15, dead between 18 and 19,—and their marrid life. Her doctrinal belief I have left out.

The Extracts from Bp. Babington are given, to show how a grave Churchman in high place in Elizabeth's reign spoke of the social

¹ But in 1598, when Hentzner saw Elizabeth at Greenwich, "Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry." Harrison, I. lxxvi.

§ 8. Naogeorgus's Popular Superstitions, This Book, 73°

ills of which Stubbes complains, so that the reader may judge, from them and the other extracts in the Notes, how little or how much Stubbes exaggerates. That I could have three- or four-folded the testimony borne by these extracts, and those in the Notes, every student of the literature of the time knows.

- c. The Fourth Book of Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) Regnum Papismi, as englisht by Barnabe Googe in 1570, is reprinted here, because it deals with many of the superstitious customs against which Stubbes writes, and also because I believe many of our members must have often desird with me, to see the whole of the Book in which the passages occur that have so often informd and interested them in Brand (Popular Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ed. Hazlitt). This fourth Book of Kirchmaier's easily lifts out of The Popish Kingdome, the rest of which, tho' it abuses the Papists, isn't lighted by nearly so much of the church- and folk-lore that make the fourth Book of such worth to us now.
- d. The present Edition of the Anatomie (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull 1 re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly calld the third. That the worth of the book deserved more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's Description of England was never reprinted separately, 2 till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the Anatomie's reprints.

Stubbes having so added to and changed this first edition, I thought it would be more interesting to print the text in its first state, and show all the changes in it, rather than to reprint the last edition of 1595, and note the earlier states of that. The only difficulty was, how to deal with the chapter on Swearing, and the other long additions of the second edition: I decided to put them in the text, between brackets, and with notes saying that they were insertions. Of no copy of the edition of 1584 (then considerd two

³ Sir Hy. Ellis of course included it in his reprint of Holinshad.

¹ See Canon Simmons's note on him in The Lay Folks' Mass Book, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. lxvi.

74. Thanks to Helpers. Asking for Notes.

editions, p. 60° above, note 3) could I hear, and so I couldn't get it collated. For the copying and collations of the text I have to thank our helpers, Mr. George Parker and Miss Smith; for a great part of the Index, Mr. Sidney J. Herrtage and Mr. H. K. Deighton; for some aid in the Notes, Mr. W. G. Stone; for their details of Stubbes's family, Col. Chester and Mr. Henry Stubbes; for leave to have the englisht Naogeorgus out of the Cambridge University Library, Mr. Bradshaw, our great Chaucerian; for his Memorandum on the wood-cuts, Mr. Ebsworth—king, with Mr. Chappell, over Ballad-land;—for tidings of editions, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt; and for information about their paintings of Q. Elizabeth's Procession, Lord Ilchester and Mr. Digby.

For any further tidings about Stubbes or his lost books, I shall be greatly obliged, for use in my edition of *The Anatomie*, Part II.

3 St. George's Sq., N. W., July 20, 1879.

p. 52°. Mr. Henry Stubbes says: "I have had the Eltham Registers examined, and they contain a great number of Stubbs entries of the branch from which I am descended, from 1584 to 1650, and among them some Philips, but none whom I can identify as the Author."

p. 66°. Life of Wife.—Besides the witness that its many editions afford to the wide-spreadness of Stubbes's 'Life of his Wife,' we have other testimony in plays, &c., as for instance, in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary*, probably written in 1634, printed in 1651, Vicar Catchmey says—

"I shall live to see thee

Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box, Thy half-crown library, and cry small books:

Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'-

'A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards':

' A pill to purge out popery':

' The life and death of Katherine Stubbs,'"

in Hazlitt's Dodsley, xii. 272. And, as the note there says, 'Richard Brome, in his play of The Antipodes, act iii, sc. 2. [acted 1638, printed 1640] mentions this book in the following manner:—

"A booke of the godly life and death
Of Mistress Katherine Stubs, which I have turn'd
Into sweet meetre, for the vertuous youth,
To woe an ancient lady widow with."

"Again, Bishop Corbet, in his *Iter Boreale*, [? 1647] says—
"—And in some barn have cited many an author,

**Kate Stubbs, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter.""

APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

EXTRACTS FROM BP. BABINGTON ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, A.D. 1588.

Dress, p. 75°
Charms, Gaming, and Cursing, p. 78°
Spending of Sunday, p. 78°
Parents' Neglect of Children, p. 82°
And setting them a bad Example, p. 82°
Children's Neglect of Parents, p. 82°
Children's Neglect of Parents, p. 82°
Stage-Plays and Players, p. 83°
Dancing: its Evils, p. 83°
Wanton Looks and Books, p. 84°
Liveries and Retainers, p. 86°

Idleness in Youth, p. 86°
Idle Jesting and Scoffing, p. 87°
Amusements allowable, but not Gaming for Money, p. 88°
Dicing: its evils (Chaucer on), p. 89°
Oppressing the Weak. Taking Bribes, p. 91°
Cowtonsness. Lawyers. Unfit Parsons, p. 92°
Prittle-prattle: evils of it, p. 93°

Bp. Babington on Dress.

p. 11. "Apparell againe is another of the raging desires of Apparell. many. Euen a worlde it is to see howe all, as dead, doe tast no sinne in it, but spend, and spare not, what possiblie may be gotten to bestowe on it; yet what beginning had it? Was it not then inuented, when man had sinned, grieuouslie offended his God, and cast himselfe away both bodie and soule? Seeing then in our integritie it was not vsed, but after sinne, bestowed on man to hide his shame withall, what may it euer beate into vs, but our rebellion against the Lorde, our sinne and cursed disobedience? Howe should the sight of it and vse of it humble vs, and not puffe vs vp, seeing it plainely telleth vs, we are not as we were

¹ Dress, advantages of.—" Fastidious Brisk. Why, assure you, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues: it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties; makes continual holiday where it shines; sets the wits of ladies at work, that otherwise would be idle; furnisheth your two-shilling ordinary; takes possession of your stage at your new play; and enricheth your oars, as scorning to go with your scull." 1598-1601. B. Jonson. Every Man in his Humour, II. ii. Works, i. 94. See too

[&]quot;Macilente. I was admiring mine own outside here,
To think what privilege and palm it bears
Here in the court! Be a man ne'er so vile,
In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else;
If he can purchase but a silken cover,
He shall not only pass, but pass regarded:
Whereas, let him be poor and meanly clad,

when no apparell was worne, and yet no shame thereby? Were it not monstrous pride, if a redeemed prisoner conditionally, that he should euer weare an halter, should waxe prowde of his halter? Mans apparell is the badge of a sinner, yea of a condemned and cursed sinner, & therefore the pride of it and delight in it, no doubt very monstrous before the Lorde, and hatefull. If euery silken sute and gorgeous gowne in Englande shrowded vnder it a saued soule, and a sanctified bodie in the sight of God, O, happie then England of all the nations vnder heauer. But if vnder such garded garments, may, and doeth lodge a body and soule abhorred of the Lorde, that in the day of wrath shall finde no fauour: then is it not apparell, that ought to be sought after, but in the day of iudgement how we may be saued."

p. 308. As for filthines, foolish talking, iesting, and such like, they are thinges vncomelie for a Christian. Againe, vnchast bookes and wanton writinges, who knoweth not howe they tickle to vncleannes? and therfore both they and the reading of them forbidden in this lawe. Sixtly, too much showe in apparel, painting, tricking and trimming of our selues aboue conveniencie: it is a daungerous allurer of lust, and

therefore forbidden.

Que. I could wish yet a little larger speach of apparell, because I see it is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaieth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant, and a thing, to

Though ne'er so richly parted *, you shall have
A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,
Or how to rince his clantmy guts in beer,
Will take him by the shoulders or the throat,
And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state
Of virtue in bad clothes!"

ib. p. 108, col. 1.

¹ Thomas Lupton gives us the grasping landlord's remorse in hell, in—"A Dreame of the Devil and Dives, most terrible and fearefull to the servaunts of Satan, but right comfortable and acceptable to the chyldren of God &c.—Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Henrie Car." (B. L. 8vo. 60

leaves, 1584. A copy at Lambeth.)

"Then, said Dives, wo woorth these rackte rentes, and unreasonable fines that shall purchase such a kingdome! I would to God I might chaunge my estate of that kingdome with the most vilest and basest cottage on the earth. When they came hyther, they will crie out and say, Wo woorth the time that ever we rackt our tenants, or tooke such fines to impoverishe them! wo woorth the tyme that ever wee were so greedie of money, and wo woorth the tyme that ever we consumed the same in gluttonous and excessive fare, in proude and sumptuous apparell, in playing of Dice, Cardes, or other games, and other worldly vanities! Wo woorth the tyme that we made our Sonnes ritch by making Tenaunts poore! But cursed be the time that we have made our Sonnes Lordes and Gentlemen on the earth, with the everlasting damnation of our owne bodies and soules in Hell! That proverbe may be truelie verifyed in us, which is Happie is that childe whose Father goeth to the Devill. This will be theyr song when they come hither, but then they shall be without remedy, as I am." Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 498.

^{*} Endowd with parts or talents, learned, &c.

conclude, that the deere children of God cannot ouercome themselues in."

1 Apparel: (a) Women imitating men's dress; (b) Men's absurd Dress, Andrew Boorde's Cut of the nakal Englishman, p. 249, below.

"For as man is Gods ape, striuing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens Shee Apes, for they will not bee behind them the bredth of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will have the French standing coller too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, (so short that none are able to sit vpon them), womens foreparts are thick skirted too: by surfetting vpon which kinde of phantasticall Apishnesse, in a short time they fall into the disease of pride: Pride is infectious, and breedes prodigalitie: Prodigalitie, after it has runne a little, closes vp and festers, and then turnes to Beggerie. Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when hee had limned, one of euery Nation in their proper attyres, and beeing at his wittes endes howe to drawe an Englishman, At the last (to giue him a quippe for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe (see p. 249, below).

"For an English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set vp in seuerall places: his Codpeece is in Denmarke, the collor of his Duble[t], and the belly in France: the wing and narrowe sleeue in Italy; the short waste hangs ouer a Dutch Botchers stall in Virich: his huge floppes [slops] speakes Spanish: Polonia gives him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster than the Feltmaker can fitte him, and thereupon we are called in scorne Blockheades. And thus we that mocke everie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from everie one of them, to peece out our pride, are now laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scurvily becomes vs." 1606. T. Decker. Seum Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 1879), p. 36-7.

Women. Tight waists.—"I have seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling, will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whiale-bones and other such trash, that their very skin, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones: Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death."

1603. J. Florio. Montaigne's Essayes (ed. 1632), p. 133. [in French, 1580.]

The following sketch of a fop with a toothpick in his mouth and a flower in his ear (compare the picture in the Natl. Portrait Gallery) is from—"Laugh and lie downe: or The worldes Folly." (Printed at London for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great North dore of saint Paules.) 1605. 4to. B. L.

"The next was a nimble witted and glib-toung'd fellow, who, having in his youth spent his wits in the Arte of love, was now become the jest of wit; for his looks weere so demure, his words so in print, his graces so in order, and his conceites so in tune, that he was—yea, iwis, so was he, and that he was such a gentleman for a Jester, that the Lady Folly could never be better fitted for her entertainement of all straungers. The picktooth in the mouth, the flower in the

Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.

p. 158-9. "For sorcerie and witcheraft, charming and conjuring, am I able to say I have as earnestlie abhorred them as I ought, and euerie way so absteyned from them as I shoulde? Nay hath not rather ease beene sought in paine of mee by these meanes, or at least wished if I coulde have gotten them? . . . Let it be wel weied of anie Cristian heart that feareth God indeede, and carefullie seeketh the credite of his name, howe often vnreuerentlie in sporting and playing, in shooting & bowling, in dising & carding, we vse his name, howe the phrase of scripture wil rowle out of our mouthes in iesting and light conferences, howe fearefully we vse him in cursing & banning our bretheren, and surely he shall see no smal guilt touching this commandement in everie one of vs."

Here is Babington's contrast of the way in which the Papists punisht breaches of God's laws—swearing, &c.—and of their own:—

p. 119. "Who so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a runneaway from the Church: cite him and summon him, excommunicate him and insprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for Reade the L. he is not worthie to live upon the earth. But if he blassessamination in the begin- offende most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and ning of it. couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a ticktack tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, & most commonly so, or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuenting, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c."

Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.

p. 189-191. "If the sanctification of this day consist greatly in labouring to knowe the Lorde by the preaching of his worde, howe shall they safely passe the curse of God for the breache hereof, who with benummed soules, parched, padded, senselesse, and enery way most hardened hearts, either lie and sleepe on the one side idle, or tossing the alepot with their neighbours, suffer this day to passe without any instruction, and like dumbe dogges hold their peace, no way discharging the dutie of a true minister, and one that tendereth the glory of God, his owne, & his peoples soules? . . . Againe, if to sanctifie the Sabaoth, be to consecrate it to holy vses, such as haue been named, is it possible for vs to escape the reuenging hande of the eternall God, if he, content in mercie with one day in the 7. we denie him that also, and dedicate it

eare, the brush upon the beard, the kisse of the hand, the stoupe of the head, the leere of the eye, and what not that was unneedefull, but he had so perfecte at his fingers endes, that every she was 'my faire Ladye,' and scarce a Knight but was 'Noble Sir': the tobacco pipe was at hand, when Trinidado was not forgotten, and then a tale of a roasted horse to make an asse laugh for lacke of witte: why, all thinges so well agreede togither, that at this square table of people, or table of square people, this man (made by rule) could not be spared for a great somme." Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. p. 452-3.

Appx. Bearbaiting on Sundays, attackt & defended. 79*

to drunkennes, to feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in y* name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil answere me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [Spending whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage Sunday] plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or that, to this bearebaiting & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frosen & void of

¹ See Harrison, Part I, p. 32: he speaks of Ales, &c., as lessend in number.

² The sweet and comfortable recreation of Beare-bayting. In Haslewood's account "of the London Theatres; No, IX, The Bear Garden," in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1816, vol. 86, Part 1, p. 205, he says that "The Author of a tract in manuscript in the Museum, † written about this period [1606], having censured the players for the indirect attacks made by them upon the Nobility, under borrowed names of foreign Dukes and feigned persons, defends this diversion as needful for the common people, and that it should be exhibited upon festivals. 'I cannot (he says) see howe that sweet and comfortable recreation of beare-bayting (beinge, to our rude and inferiour vulgar, that which Circensis Venatio was among the Romans) maye welbe forborne, seeinge like will to like, as it is in the black proverbe, and therfore conclude that our active spirritts and fine pregnant witts, with pleasant and ingenious playes would be intertayned, and the scumme of the people (evene vpon the festivall daies) to the Bancke-side drayned . . . To retorne, where exception is taken to bear-bayting on festivall daies, I saye, uppon those, hell is broake loose, and it is good pollicye to drawe all the devylles (if it be possible) into one place, to keepe them from being easely tempted (for pares cum paribus facillime congregantur, pend dixissem copulantur, for one devill easely tempteth another,) and vnlawfull attemtinge ells where. Bestiis indulgendum est infimæ plebi; the poore slaves have bene heldein harde to labour att the working daies, and would be gladd to have a little recreation on the holye dayes, which our commiserant Lord ordayned in part (as I conceive) for the reste of them, and all brutes in generall, whome the insatiable covetousnes of man wold contynually, without intermission, be hurrying in traveile and laboure, and partly for solace and refection to the droylinge servant. Nowe because the rude multitude dothe not knowe well howe to vse libertye (and some they muste and will have), therefore, that they themselves may devise none madder, whereof mischief maye aryse to the weale publique of the poppular cittyes, let them vse the sweete pastime of beare-bayteinge, and other suche publique exercises (thoughe on the festivall dayes), a God's name, that we may knowe what they doe, and wheare to fynd them if neede be. And [in] generall, all manner of pastimes are to be permitted att customable tymes to a peaceable people for there solace and comfort, as his Majestie in those moste judicious and admirable preceptes and direccions to the Prince! hathe verye choisely noated and prescribed."

[.] Mr. W. G. Stone gives me the reference.

[†] I can't identify the MS by the Class Catalogue, nor can the keeper of the MSS, tell me which it is. We've tried a few likely ones.

¹ James I's Book of Sports.

80 Appx. Bp. Babington against Sabbath-Breaking.

the feeling of the mercie of thy God, that having every day in 6. every houre in euery day, & euery minute in euery houre, so tasted of the sweet grace of thy God in Christ, as that without it thou hadst perished euery minute, yet canst not tel howe possibly to passe ouer one day to his praise, vnlesse one halfe of it be spent in carding & bowling. Awake, awake, in Iesus Christ admonished, awake! & seeing al the weeke long, yo Lord of heaven doth defend & feede thee, comfort & blesse thee, & is contented but in one day especially to be regarded, vow with thy self in request of strength to keepe it, that to the Lord yt one day shall be consecrated of thee, & observed according to his will."

o. 199-205. " Haue we spent the Sabaoth in godly conference & meditation, powring out thanks from a feeling soule for ye Lords goodnes cuer to vs, & namely the weeke passed? Haue we visited or thought upon the sick, sore, diseased, imprisoned, banished, or any way suffring for a good cause, & to our power comforted them? Haue we studied how either to procure or continue or increase amongst our selues. or our neighbours, the meanes of saluation, as ye preaching of the word, & such like? O beloued, we have not, we have not, we know it & must needs confesse it, if there be any trueth in vs. Too much have we neglected all these; yea, euen diverse of them, it is greatly to bee feared, have litle or neuer at all troubled our heads: but for their contraries, in most ful measure we have wallowed in them, and with greedinesse euer accomplished them. Where is the minister whose negligence hath not made his people to pollute the Sabaoth? Where is the people whose consciences awaked may not justly condemne them for ungodly gadding [Churchales, on this day to Churchales, to weddings, to drinkings, to bast-stage plays, kets, to fairs, & markets, to stage plaies, to bearebaytings, & bearbaitings.] summer games, and such like? Where is that master that hath had a

daunce unseemly oft doo turn,

Their harts blinde Cupid oft doth cause with Venus games to burn . . .

While men with maides in wanton If that his mate doo seem to like the game that he would have,

> He trips her toe, and clicks her check, to show what he doth crave.

For Thomas Deloney's advice in 1607 how to woo and win a wench, see Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 215.

Arthur Golding, the great englisher of classical books in Shakspere's day, also complains of the Sabbath-breaking that went on. In his little book on the earthquake * probably alluded to by Shakspere, through the Nurse's mouth, in Romes and Juliet, he says :-

Dancing and Minstrelsy on Sundays .- See Mr. Collier's account, in Bibl. Cat. i. 489-492, of Thomas Lovell's 'Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie, 1581, a book written to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by' "heathenish dauncing and vain minstrelsie." Custom defends these practises; Verity condemns them, especially 'the horrible immorality of kissing at the end of a dance, as we know was then usual (Henry V///, Act I, sc. 4).'

^{• &}quot;A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of Aprill. 1580. betweene the houres of five and six in the Evening. Written by Arthur Golding, Gentleman.—At London, Imprinted by Henry Binneman, dwelling in Thamis streate nere Baynerds castle," small 8vo. B. L.

conscience to restraine his servants from this impictie, or the servant againe that hath either brideled himselfe for ye Lords cause, or else wel accepted his master or mistres restraint being made vnto him, and which hath not rather burst out into vngodly & disobedient speeches, murmuring that because he hath wrought all the weeke, therfore he should have libertie to do what he list on ye Sabaoth, not considering that this com-mandement bindeth not only ye master himselfe to honor God on this day, but to see to his family so much as he can, that they also do it. Nay I would to God yt masters in many places were not ringleaders to their owne & al other mens people, to prophane this Sabaoth of the Lord, and that even such maisters as in respect of their calling, office and credite in the countrey, should farre otherwise doe. When doeth a gentleman (to name no higher estates) appoint a shooting, a bowling, a cocking, or a drunken swearing ale, for the helpe as they say of some poore one, but vppon the Sabaoth? And if he be at you Church in the forenoone, for the after noone it is no matter, he hath beene verie liberall to God in giuing him so much. What day in the week vsually doeth he give so euill an example of vnmeasurable sotting in bed, as on the Sabaoth? But O filthic sauour that ariseth out of this lothsome chanell, thus raked vp into the nostrels of the Lorde! I spare to speake, I shame to see, I rew to knowe, what I fully knowe against our soules in this respect. . . . What should I say of the second end of the institution of the Sabaoth, namely for the rest of seruant & cattell? But even in an word, woe to the man whom God shall judge according to his guiltinesse herein. For it is too vsual with al estates to be a meanes to robbe their servauntes of the blessing due to the keepers of this law, and to pull vppon them the plague for the contrarie, by making them ride and run, post and away, vpon euerie occasion that commeth in their heads, when in truth, if they would but euen look into it, the matter may be done wel without such hast. . . . Wherein or howe crucifie we the fleshe more on this day than any other, bridle the frowarde desires of the heart, restrayne our owne nature, and doe the will of God more on this day than any other? Alas, our owne consciences crie vnto us, we doe nothing lesse: wee drinke, wee eate, wee surfet, wee sweare, we play, [Sanday we daunce, we whore, we walke and talke idlely, vainely, amusements] vncleanely and vngodlily: these are our workes on ye Sabaoth more commonly than any day in the weeke else; and if this bee to resemble a spirituall rest, then in deede wee doe it, not otherwise. . . . A thousand times & a thousand he might with great right haue destroyed vs either amongst our pottes, or in our daunces, or idle in our beds, asking vs if that were to halow his Sabaoth, or to honour his name to swill [Drinking and to bibble, to leape, to walowe and tumble in bed, till it on Sundays.] bee noone, with such like.'

[&]quot;The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word to the reformation of our lyves, for the administration and receyving of the Sacramentes to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behovefull for bodye or soule at Gods hands by Prayer, for the mynding of his benefites, and to yielde praise and thankes unto him for the same, and, finally, for the speciall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynease, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed."—Collier's Bibl. Cat., ii. 315—16.

82 Appx. Bp. Babington on Parents' want of Duty.

Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.

"For too much it is of parents neglected, & yet are they grieued, if of their children they be not reuerenced; and howsoeuer many there bee, that in these daies are carefull ynough to procure vnto their children knowledge of Artes, of Countries, and of any thing that in worldely sort may make them mightie, famous, and spoken of : yet is the grounde of all verie fearefully neglected, namely, to setle in them the true feare of the God of Israell, deliuered and taught in his worde. Yea, it is even accounted by father and child not so needefull or beseeming for a gentleman, to the great exasperating of the Lordes wrath against them and their seede. Humilitie also and shamefastnes are taken from youth in these daies, even by their parents and their teachers; and where it hath cuer beene held, that blushing in measure, modestie, and silence haue been commendable tokens in young yeeres, nowe is it a shame to be ashamed at any time, blushing is want of countenance and bringing vp, silence is ignoraunce, modestie is too much maidenlinesse; and in short, nowe vertue is vice, and vice very comely and gallant behaulour. So times are changed to and fro, and chaunging times have chaunged vs too. But of this thus farre."

Children's want of Reverence to Parents. Parents' setting bad Examples to their Children.

p. 247-25t. "What shoulde I name, what shoulde I feare to name, so will it wring vs all, the mocking of our Parentes? Where is that childe that hath carefully couered to his power, and euer borne withall in him selfe, the wantes or infirmities whatsoeuer of his Parents? No, no, the Lord hath not onelie something against vs in this behalfe, but euen great and greeuous hath beene our fault, and still it remaineth in manie Wee laugh to see our Parentes shame, we smile at their wants, wee publishe their infirmities, we disdaine their ignoraunce, wee loath their age, and in manie a thing to our owne confusion, if the Lorde give not an amending repentance, we bewray a robbed hart of that true reuerence which ought to bee in children to their parentes. Alas if God iudge vs for our obedience, where are we? what witles wil erecteth a kingdome in vs? Howe cleaue wee to our selues in all matters, and thinke our owne direction best? Howe despise wee the counsell of our friendes, and cast behinde vs their experience? Eueric sonne and eueric daughter would rule their mariage wholie themselues. And cuen in euerie action, alas, what disobedience sheweth it selfe in vs vnto our parentes. . . . Are we parents? . . . What life haue wee ledde before our children too breede and continue these duties in them? Hath it beene holy, graue, and modest, and so remayneth, as neere as we can, seeking to hide from the eyes of their witlesse heades, such wantes as we knowe our selues subject vnto? No no, but carelesly and loosely, euen in euery place, parentes bewray neglect of religion: they will goe to the Churches or good exercises when they list, and that verie rarely; they shewe no regarde of the dutie of Christians, they carie no grauitie in their doinges, no modestie often in their behauiour, but liue most dissolutely and often incontinently; they sweare fearefully without regarde, speake prophanely, not respecting the frailtie of the youth that heareth them; father and mother let vnkinde speeches passe from them one towardes an other in the presence of their children to the great impayring of their credite

with them, carelesse, God knowes, of their bringing vp, and too full of foolish pitie when they should correct them. . . . The very vnnaturall and vnkinde dealing of Parentes with their children in their youth, denying them releefe, and comfortable helpe, maketh them often (though it should not) when they have attayned to anie estate, to deale as vndutifully with their needic Parentes againe."

Stage-Plays and Players. (See too p. 85°.)

p. 316-318. "These prophane & wanton stage playes or interludes: what an occasion they are of adulterie and vncleanenesse, by gesture, by speech, by conueyances, and deuices to attaine to so vngodly desires, the world knoweth with too much hurt by long experience. Vanities they are if we make the best of them; and the Prophet prayeth to have his eies turned away by the Lorde from beholding such matter: Euill wordes corrupt 1. Cor. 15. good manners, and they have abundance. There is in them ever manie dangerous sightes, and wee must abstaine from euer manie dangerous sightes, and wee must abstaine from al appearance of euill. They corrupt the eies with alluring gestures: the eyes, the heart: and the heart, the bodic, till al be horrible before the Lord. Histrionicis gestibus inquinantur omnia: (sayth Chrysostome) These players behaulour polluteth all thinges. And of their playes he saith, they are the feasts of Sathan, the inuentions of the deuill, &c Councels have decrieed verie sharply against them, and polluted bodies by these filthie occasions have on their death beddes confessed the daunger of them, lamented their owne foule and greeuous faulles, and left their warning for euer with vs to beware of them. But I referre you to them, that vpon good knowledge of the abominations of them, haue written largely & wel against them. If they be dangerous on the day time, more daungerous on the night certainely: if on a stage, & in open courtes, much more in chambers and private houses. For there are manie roumes beside that where the play is, & peraduenture the strangenes of the place & lacke of light to guide them, causeth errour in their way, more than good Christians should in their houses suffer."

Dancing, the Evils of it. (See too, p. 85.)

p. 318-321. "Que. What else?

"Ans. Dancing againe is in the number of vaine pastimes, [Dancing] and the allurements to vucleannesse, as much experience hath too wel proued. The scriptures checke it, the fathers mislike it, the councels have condemned it, & the proofe of Gods iudgementes vpon it biddeth vs beware. Instrumenta luxuria tympana & tripudia, sayth one, the inticers to lust are pipinges and dancinges. Laquei sunt & candala, non solum saltatoribus, sed spectatoribus. They are snares and offences not onely to the actors, but also to y beholders. Iob noteth it as an olde practise of the deuil to occupy men withall, & as an ancient exercise of the wicked, that they should daunce. Upon which wordes a godly writer sayeth: that from the tabret and the flute, which in Cala. serm to themselues are not vulawefull, they come to dauncing, the such vulawefull is the chiefest mischiefe of all. For there is alway (sayth he) such vulchast behaulour in dauncing, that of it selfe, and as they abuse it, (to speake the trueth in the worde) it is nothing else, but an inticement to whoredome. In the gospell the spirite of God noteth it in a wicked woman as an immodest thing, & of a damnable

84* Appx. Bp. Babington on the Evils of Dancing.

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was meretriciæ lasciniæ Marter ex. turpis nota nubilis puellæ saltatio. That is, that for her to dance, beeing a maide for yeares mariageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosocuer (saith he) hath a care of honest grauntie, he cuer condemneth dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it spectaculum familia Regia probrosum. A dishonorable sight in a kings house; with manie speaches moe of mislike. Syrac, 9. Sirac, a wise man, and of great experience, biddeth a man not to vse the companic of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. Ambres de. godlie Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For saltatio ad Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe Chryst. Math. speeche: Yet was this grave father not afraide to speake it. Saltatio barathrum diaboli, sayth an other: dauncing is the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Iacobs mariage in Genes. (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing Threshilact that was at it. Mira collusio sayth another, saltat diabolus per puellam: It is a strange jugling, when wee thinke the maide doth daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The councels haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the iudgementes of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Colbecke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, beeing by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead. But because others have so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to have beene vsed of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was ever a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselues, women by themselues. Which nothing will warrant our custome and guise in these daies.

Que. Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

Ans. There are yet many mo. But I may not in this sort stande vpon them. Gluttonie & drunkennesse, with houses of open whoredome, youre booke nameth and proofes for them. Idlenter of the companies of the compan

Temptations to Unchastity: Wanton Looks and Books, Dress, Plays, Dancing.

p. 348-350. "The meanes and allurementes either to the actuall offence, or the thought condemned in this commaundement as we have

¹ Robert Manning of Brunne cites this instance too, in his *Handlyng Synne*, A.D. 1303. See my edition, p. 279-286. He makes the sacrilegious Carollers or Dauncers go on hopping for ever after.

heard before, are many and diverse. Sometimes the eyes disorderly wander, and beeing not checked by a Christian conscience that feareth to give them libertie too long, they become the occasions both of thoughtes and actes, wicked and damnable. Sometimes behaviour vnchast and unseemely. Sometimes speeche wanton and light, stir the hart vp to conceiue that thing, and the wicked fleshe to perfourme it fully, which God and nature abhorre as filthie. The dalying tattles of these courting dayes, the lasciulous songes made by loose mindes, and the wanton greetinges in euerie place nowe vsed, alas what thoughtes procure they, neuer liked of the Lorde, that I may say no worse? Bookes written by vnreformed heartes, and continually redde to the greefe of God, are they no occasions to fraile flesh, both in thought and deede to offende against this law: God knoweth, and experience teacheth such soules as tast of Christ, that verie deadly poyson under a false delight, doth this way creepe into vs. An vnchast looke makes an vnchast heart, and a rouing tongue beyonde the listes of godlinesse ere euer we well knowe what we doe. So subtill is the sinne that this way creepeth into our soules. Apparell is next, a most fearefull allurement to the breache of this commaundement both in thought and deede, if God once in mercie would open our eyes. So are these stage playes and most horrible spectacles, so is our dauncing, which at [Stage Playe.] this day is vsed, so is drunkennesse, gluttonic and idlenesse, with a number such like, as can witnesse eche one in the world that will weigh them."

"Light behaulour and alluring daliance is Relaniour p. 351-354. "Light behaulour and alluring daliance is Rehaule euerie, where accompted comelie bouldnesse, and good Speech. bringing vp: discoursing speeche to a vaine ende, we count a quality commendable in vs, and the want of it we esteeme simplicitie, wheresoeuer we see it. And therefore by bookes to such endes set out, we endeuour to attaine vnto it, and having once polluted our speech (for I will neuer call it polishing) we are neuer better than when we have company to bestowe our tales and greetinges vppon. Our apparell, in matter, to our power we make sumptuous, and in forme, to allure the eye asmuch as wee can. If this be true, in the name of Christ let vs better thinke of it than we have done. These are allurementes to sinfull lust, and this lawe of God forbiddeth not onely both act and thought, but even everie allurement to either of them. What should I speake of stage plaies and dauncing? Can we say in trueth before the malestie of God that we carefullie abstaine from these thinges, because they tickle vs vp either more or lesse to the breach of this commaundement? Alas we cannot a number of vs. But we runne to the one continually to our cost, when we will not be drawen to better exercises that are offered freely, we sucke in the venom of them with great delight, and practise the speeches and conveyances of love which there we see and learne. The other wee vse with especiall pleasure, and God being witnesse to many an one, they wish the fruite of their dauncing to be this, even the fall of them selves and others into the breach of this lawe. What should I say of gluttonie and idlenesse? Doe they not make vs sinne? Good Lord, give vs eyes to see, and hearts to weigh the occasions of our fall. The spirite of God hath Gintenne and sayde that these pricked up the flesh of the filthy Sodomites drumbennesse. to that height of sinne; and yet we can imagine they will cause no sinne at all in vs against this lawe. And therefore professing the gospell and integritie of life, yet dare we so pamper, so stuffe, & cramme this rebelling

86* Appx. Bp. Babington on the Evils of Retainers, &c.

flesh, as if we were gods that could suffer no temptation: we dare gull in wine and hote drinkes continually, beeing peraduenture both strong and young, and euerie way needing rather pulling downe, than setting vp. We dare solace our selues in soft beddes too long for our constitutions, and all the day after betake our selues to nothing whereabout the minde might walke, and so escape impure conceptes."

The giving of Liveries to Retainers and Serving-men, &c.

Lineries are p. 378-9. "And I wil yet adde one thing ouer vnto all these, which must needes be included in this head of oppression, because it is a common and a dangerous cloake of the same, to wit, lyueries of Prince or subjectes, noble men, gentlemen, or whosoener. Which if they maintaine and beare out the vniust & wrongfull dealings of any man with ye knowledge of the Lord, not only the deede doer, but the giver of that cloth and cote whatsoever he be, standeth giltie of that oppression before almighty God. The consideration whereof being so true and sure, should justly cause in al estats, that deale their cloth to others, a more vigilant eye & eare to see & heare the conversation of their followers, & a restraining hand of such countenance, credite or couer to them (all worldly reasons set apart) when so euer they shall vnderstande the same to be abused. For why should any earthly respect euer stande so great in mens eies, as that for it they dare take upon them the guilt of other mens sins, & spoyling oppression? But alas great is the vnfeelingnesse of many mens harts in this matter in these dayes. Either Pope, profite, or pollicie, doe make vs deale our cloth too liberally, and regard our mens behaviour too negligentlie. But a worde is ynough."
p. 428. "What shoulde I say of that cloke and couer and cause of

p. 428. "What shoulde I say of that cloke and couer and cause of Lineries. much oppression, the cloth and liueries of Superiours? Am I the giver or the taker? If I bee the giver, have I never boulstred my cognisance out to doe the thing that God forbiddeth? Have I hearkned about to see and learne howe they vse the credit that is given them? God knowes wee have little neede to be charged with other mens sinnes, as no doubt such a maister shall with such a mans offences. For we shall never be able to beare in our selves the burden of our owne. Am I the taker? what then saith my conscience? have I sought it and sued for it for affection, and true duetie in my heart to him that gave it? Doe I weare it, and wishe to weare it, to have my heart knowen to him or her the better, whom with heart and hande, bodie and goods, power and might till my death, in right I honour and serve, and wishe and will doe ever? Or rather a false faith seeketh a faire shewe, and a powling hande of manie a seelie weake wretch seeketh a strength to establish my wickednesse, and a backer to beare on my foule

oppressions?"

Neglect of honest Work in Youth. (The Grasshopper and the Ant.)

p. 382-385. "There was a litle tittle tattle, when time was, they say, betwixt the grashopper and the pismire, and we may laugh at it, & yet looke better about vs as admonished by it. The grashopper hauing passed the summer ouer merily, as her custome is, singing and tuning the notes of a thoughtlesse minde vnder euerie leafe, at last when winter came on, beganne to shake, and to goe to bedde with an emptie bellie

Appx. Bp. Babington on Idleness in Youth, & Jesting. 87.

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie creature must yeelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and hauing a wealthic neighbour not farre off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitaile, to her she commeth, and craueth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demaunded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grashopper) I sung, and litle remembred this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will neuer maintaine idlenesse in anie." Thus received slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. Optimum obsonium senectute labor, (sayth one) They are good refreshinges in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will, who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tipple and drinke, banket and reuell, what connsell socuer is given vs to the contrarie, with that litle we have, and sing care away. And a litle gaie apparell on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sicke seruant; a mayine may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I have no wages vnlesse you could worke, many thinges may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not litle or rare to idlenesse and slouth. . . . 3 Wherefore it is not ynough to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we have by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) just labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fidling and pyping vppe and downe the countrey, by carying about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subject to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

Idle Jesting and Scoffing.

p. 396-7. "Vnto this heade is referred all vngodlie counsell, whatsoeuer, and all leawde vanitie, or babishe scruilitie to make men delight more in vs, and lesse in the feare of God. Is it not lamentable to see, that a popish, or an atheisticall Spirite shall doe more hurt at a table, or such like place with one pecuish iest, and girding skoffe in the heartes of the hearers, than twentie good men can recouer with much good counsell? And yet what say we? O, hee is a meric greeke, a pleasaunt companion, and in faith a good fellowe." Hee cannot flatter, his words must be

1 p. 383. 1 p. 384. 1 p. 385.
4 'Good men' fighting, &-c.—" howe dare these sinfull, brauling, quarelling, disquiet, hatefull, and furious fighters, take vppon them to be called good men

88. Appx. Bp. Babington on lawful Amusements.

borne, and soe foorth. But marke marke what effect this mirth hath in us, and whereto it tendeth. And if it increase our knowledge, increase our zeale, and increase good graces in vs, then like it, and spare not, and cheerish such an one. But if it poyson the profite of the worde vnto vs, decay our diligence, and liking of good exercises, and decrease all that I haue named, then know him for a thiefe, though his handes be true, for he stealeth our soules from the liuing God, & both bodie and soule from eternall life."

Amusements in Moderation are justifiable. What Games are allowable. Gaming for money is not. The Evils of Gaming.

p. 399-400. "Concerning then playing and gaming in generall, divers you shall finde both in writing and speaking verie straite, who hardlie will bee perswaded to allowe vnto Christians almost anie plaie at all. For, say they, wee must give accompt in the day of judgement of feuerie action, of euerie idle worde, and of euerie iote of time, howe wee haue

bestowed it, and therefore we shoulde not play."

p. 400-408. "The meaning of these our brethren no doubt is good, and willingly would drawe vs to greater dutie to our God. And these reasons of theirs ought to haue this effect in vs, euen to abridge that excesse which al may see in our playing and our sportes, and to bring vs home to a greater strictnesse of life in heeding what we should. But to cut vs off from all recreation by any play (be it without offence of anie spoken) indeede they cannot. For wee are men, and no Angels, and as men in this worlde wee must walke our course, subject to dulnesse, and wearinesse, euen in good thinges, and wee must refreshe that feeble weakenesse of ours by lawful and allowed comforts. Which

Zach, 8, 5.

Exad 13

a. Sam, 18.

Livit, 23

The appoint in of festinal dayes.

Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying

philosophie, Philosophandum paucis: Wee must play but litle.

But nowe the seconde steppe is more harde than this, namelie to knowe what games wee maic vse, and at what wee may play. Wherein not purposing anie set and curious treatise, I aunswere briefely, that of those manie and differing kindes of sportes, that are deuised and vsed in euerie place, I condemne none, which make for the quickening of bodie or minde, which serue to actiuitie, and prepare men for better seruice an other daye, vnlesse they haue ioyned to them any vngodlinesse, or are by Lawe of that particular place forbidden: no, not Cardes or Tables in all respectes, and to euerie person at all times, and in all places: Neuerthelesse I am fullie assured, and doe willinglie affirme, that they ought not of Christians professing the Gospel to bee so much vsed as they are.

Let vs therefore rather enter to consider an other poynt, which is

And what witlesse woodcocks are they, that cals them good men, bicause

Stonie fighters they fight lustily, sticke to it stoutely, and would mayme and kill desperatly: neuer regarding their cause nor their quarrel." 1580.

T. Lupton. Sixyila, p. 53.

Appx. Bp. Babington against Gaming and Dicing. 89.

harder than this, namelie, whether wee shoulde play for monie or no. And first I reason thus: If it bee lawefull to plaie for monie, then is it lawefull to winne monie in this sort, and the monie lawefullie possessed: But this seconde is false, therefore the former also. That the seconde is false, the ende and first invention of plaie producth, which, as everie one canne well witnesse, was neuer inuented to this ende, but onelie to refresh either body or mind; and corruption afterward brought in mony, as we see dayly before our eyes. . . . Thirdlie, I reason from the multitude of miserable creatures, that are the same fleshe that wee are, and yet pitifullic crie for want of succour: from the multitude of godlie and Christian vses, to employ that which wee maie spare vppon, and euen from the want of manie necessaries for our selues, that it is not lawefull nor tollerable to play for monie. For is it not lamentable, and most fearefull, that anie Christian man shoulde carie about in his conscience daie and night a witnesse, that this seuen yeares hee hath not given seuen shillings to the naked, needie, and comfortlesse members of Iesus Christ, and yet hee hath lost at vayne playe, in a vayne manner, twentie times as much? Can a man bee so dull, as to thinke this thing will neuer pricke him, or neuer haue a just rewarde of punishment at Gods handes? Is it not lamentable, that a man can see no Christian vse to giue of hys abundaunce to, but thinke all that euer hee can get, litle inough to consume in playe? Are wee exempted out of the number of them that are bounde to workes of loue, and deedes of mercie, so that wee neede to doe none of these, and yet shall bee saued too? Naie, is it not woonderfull, and a thing that heaven and earth are ashamed of, and even all the creatures in both of them stande astonished at, to consider, that a man shoulde not eyther doe the former dueties, or him selfe haue eyther anie good apparell to weare, anie bookes to benifite his soule by, no not so much as a Bible or a prayer booke, anie meate at home for his wife and Children, anie wages to paie hys Seruauntes, or his other debtes, or a number moe such necessaries, and yet thinke hys playing, yea his costlie playing, lawefull, and not to bee spoken agaynst? Is it I say, possible, that euer a Christian man, that thinkes hee hath Gods spirite, shoulde thus have his conscience seared vp? Truelie, for myne owne part, I professe I haue stoode in my hearte amazed at it, and I beseech the Lorde to driue awaie from vs such grosse securitie. For else as we liue, wee shall knowe wee haue deceyued our selues, and others; wee were neuer anie thing lesse, than Christians. These dueties therefore due to others, so manie, and great, and these wants of necessaries for our selues, improoue our playing for monie."

Dicing, the Evils of it. Chaucer and Sir T. Elyot.

p. 411-417. "The Poet layeth it downe amongest the Cankers that consume men and make them beggers, Dise, Wine, and Women. What shoulde I say? Take anie booke in hande of an heathen man, and it is a woonder, if you finde not some thing against dysing. Nowe come from heathens to Christians, and see euen as great misleng. Austen beginneth and is not afraide to say plainely, Aleam Decimit. Decimient Daemon, The deuill first found out the game of the dising. Lyra, detesting it, seeketh to make other men doe In presupported as much by diverse reasons. It covereth (sayth hee) an other mans

¹ Lat. improto, disapprove, blame, condemn.

90 Appx. Bp. Babington, Chaucer, &c., against Dicing.

goods greatly, it is a mightie meanes of deceite, it passeth vsurie, it causeth lying, swearing, brawling, and manie idle wordes, it is an offence to the godly, it breaketh the lawes, it misspendeth the time, and what not? Olde CHAUCER so long agoe set his sentence downe against this exercise, and spares not to display the vertues of it in this maner:

Dising,2 (saith he) is verie mother of leasinges, [1 Hasand] And of deceite and cursed forswearings. Blasphemie of God, manslaughter, and waste also, Of battaile, naughtinesse, and other mo. 3 [3 Of catel, and of time, and forthermo] It is reproofe and contrarie to honour, For to be hould a common disesour.4 [hasardour] And euer the higher he is in estate, The more he is houlden desolate. If thou a Prince dost vse⁵ hazardie [3 If that a Prynce | vseth] In all[e] gouernance and pollicie 600 He is, by a6 common opinion [as by] Houlden lesse⁷ in reputation. 602 [7 Yholde the lesse] Lordes might finde other manner of 8 play, 627 [8 Synden other maner] Honest inough to drive the day away.

But of all other speeches, me thinkes it is a maruelous saying of Sir Thomas Eliot, and ought verie greatly to moue vs, who affirmeth that if a man heare one to be a diser, and knoweth him not, by and by he iudgeth him to be a light and vaine person, and of no credite or accompt. . Last of all, peruse the Statutes of this our owne countrie, and I beseech you marke the liking they have showed of dising. In the twelfth yeare of Richarde the seconde all vnlawefull games were forbidden, and by name Dising generallie. In the 21. yeare of Henrie the fourth, disers taken were imprisoned sixe dayes. And if anie heade Magistrate, as Maior, or Sheriffe, made not diligent search for them, they forfetted fortie shillings: If a Constable were negligent, hee lost sixe shillinges and eight pence. In the seuenteenth yere of Edward the fourth, they that kept dicing houses were to have three yeares imprisonment and 20. pounds fine. Players at dice in those houses, two yeares imprisonment and ten pounds fine. In the eleuenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth, Dicers shoulde be openlie set in the stockes by the space of one whole day, and the house keepers that suffered him to play, forfeit a noble, and be bounde to their good behauiour. In the 33 yeare of Henrie the eight, Dicing houses forfetted fortie shillings euerie time, & disers vi. s. viii. d. and bound in recognisance neuer to play againe. And yet more may you see in Pultons abridgement.9 Now it is woonderfull that notwithstanding all this, yet so foule a thing shoulde seeme so faire, and that a man should not thinke himselfe vsed as a gentleman or almost as a man, vnlesse hee may haue libertie in this loosenesse, and the large reine to so great an euill. And yet wee be Christians, and that of the better sort too, or you doe vs wrong. The heathen hated it, and we hatch it vp in eueric house, and yet we be Christians. The godly writ against it, wee waite for it, and yet we be Christians. The councels haue condemned it in the spirite of Christ, and christian lawes haue most sharpely punished it: wee day and night vse it, and cannot be reaued of it, and

¹ In the Pardoner's Tale, Group C, l. 589-628; Six-text, p. 321-2. A few of the Ellesmere MS. readings are in the margin above.

⁹ Of the Statutes.

Appx. Bp. Babington on Oppression of the Weak. 91.

yet we be Christians. But alas, alas! the day of vnderstanding, or the day of damnation for our ignoraunce, shall teach vs an other thing. We sweare, we lie, we reuile, and wee runne into the fielde with murthering mindes (for such anger is murther) moued by play, and yet we will not And if I doe not thus in shewe, yet inwardly I frette, I chafe, I gnash with my teethe, and teare the Cardes, burne the Dice, throw away the Tables, and such like, and yet I am religious. The Lorde forbiddeth all appearaunce of euill, all occasions of sinne, and yet wee are the Lordes, and doe neither. The Lorde saith, 'If thy right hande cause thee to offend, or thy right eye, cut it off, plucke it out, and east it away'; wee will bee the Lordes, and not restrayne a litle play, that, mine owne soule being witnesse, most greeuouslie maketh mee offende. Fie, sie, what deadnesse is this? Where is either love of God, or feare in vs? Loue makes vs burne with desire to doe well, feare makes vs shake, to thinke of anie sinne: we continually sinne in our greedie gaming, and yet we be godlie. But this either makes vs see it, or we will neuer (I feare) see the mischeefe of playing, and by name of Dising. The Lorde for Christ his sake awake vs, and so I end."

Oppression of Servants and the Weak. Taking of Bribes.

p. 425-428. "Who seeth not, who knoweth not, that all Oppression of my brother in his goods is contrarie to that loue that I ought to beare to him and his goods? And how stande wee in this matter? Haue wee neuer detained the poore seruauntes wages, and wrecked our anger vppon him to his harme further than a mercifull heart shoulde haue doone? Haue wee not taken euen the flower of his youth, the strength of his yeares, and the verie iuice and sappe of hys bodie to serue our turnes withall, and then either turned him off vnrewarded, or taken from him, or diminished without cause, other than our

I "Nay, thou hast yet Another Cruelty gnawing in thy bosome; Against mont for what hope is there that thou shouldst have pitty over others, of provision when thou art vnmercifull to thy self! Looke over thy walls into thy for these that give in the Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy servants and apprentises sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day upon deadly errands; when they perceive that the Armal Man hath struck them, yea, even when they see they have tokens delivered them from heaven to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke upon their graves, and to gather the flowers themselves that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to have a writing over their dores, to tell that God hath bin there; they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

"Looke againe ouer the walls into thy Fields, and thou shalt heare poore and forsaken wretches lye groaning in ditches, and trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hye wayes. Hauing found him, he there throwes downe their infected carcases, towards which, all that passe by, looke, but (till common necessity compell,) none step in to give them buriall. Thou seast vp posts to whip them when they are aliue: Set vp an Hospitall to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, and that is, when they be dead." 1606. T. Decker. Seven Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 1879), p. 48.

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his service before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall towardes him in this commaundement. . . . Haue wee not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe wee might have helped them in the gate? If we have, what can we say why led 31, 33 we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from the bones, as lob wished to him in such a case? Haue wee neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered Bribes, these handes to feele the weight of a bribers gift to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you have offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to eueric one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnes pulled not vppon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take giftes to do it, and yet we be no theeues."

Covetousness. Lawyers. Giving Church-livings to bad Parsons.

p. 431-5. "Wee boldlie looke of euerie mans commodities. As we goe and ride, wee streight way couet, and that which is worse, presentlie we deuise to obtain our will to the impayring of our brothers wealth, and the fearefull breaking of this commandement. And woulde God the rage of our lust were not sometime so vehement, as that missing to get what it greedelie seeketh, it casteth vs downe sicke in our bed, or causeth vs to hurt him who hindereth our wishe, as wee see fell out in Achab to Naboth for his vineyarde. But of this hereafter more againe in the tenth By tongues. commaundement. For the tongue, alas what shoulde I saie, I will neuer bid you enquire whether you bee guiltie or no. For whither shoulde a man flie in these dayes from flatterie, or where may we liue and not light of false forgers seeking by filed phrase to bleere the eyes of such as least suspect them. . . . Let them ioyne hereunto, whose calling is such a true viewe of the drift and successe of Lawieres, their pleas, whether they have not often indevored with their tongues, and often also obtayned by their speach, the wrongfull alienation of mens right from them to other men. And is not this a theft? Might not he euen aswell haue robbed him with his handes, as to be a meanes by speach of wrong perswasion that others doe it? But alas, what wordes can I vse, or anie man else this day aliue, to make men feele, that neither golden gaine, nor anie regarde to be named whatsoeuer, shoulde make them speake vntruely against the good estate of their brethren in anie causes? Surely, if this will nothing moue, that it is in nature theft which in name they so abbore, I will assay no further. Are we al cleare of that theft of theftes committed in conveying of the Church livinges to our owne vse from them that ought to have them and doe the dutie for them, to the dishonour of God, the ruine of the Church, and the fearefull casting away of manie a soule into the pitte of hell for

¹ Compare Bacon's case, &c.

Appx. Bp. Babington on Unfit Parsons, Tittle-Tattle. 93*

want of knowledge? 1... Shall the Lorde crie woe vppon woe, wrath vpon wrath, vengeance vppon vengeance, to the carelesse shepheardes that feede themselues, and not the flocke; and shall he so quietly passe them ouer, that put in, and place such dume dogges, and vnable drones to doe anie ductie for their owne lucre? Is it a token of loue to feede his sheepe, to feede his lambes; and is it not a want of loue both to God and his lambes, to put in, for my gaine, such a drie nurse as can giue no milke nor feede at all, except it be with follie, and a fowle example of drinking, swearing, carding, tabling, bowling, sleeping, and such like?"

Prittle-prattle and Tittle-tattle, the Evils of em.

p. 481-2. "For the seconde which was telling of tales, wee haue heard it before shewed, and our owne knowledge both assure vs it is a branch of the breach of this commandement, which shall burne both bodie and soule in the fire of hell. And yet see, do we feare it, or flie it? Alas we knowe I am sure of it, we haue beene too too secure in this point, and our securitie not seeing and weighing the wickednesse of the vice hath stayned both heart and tongue horriblie. Looke about the worlde and veiwe the generall course of all. Feareth anie man to discredite his neighbour priuily, and to whisper vpon hearesay or his owne imagination what tendeth to the blemish of his name whom he speaketh of? Feareth any woman when shee hath mette with her gossippe to tittle tattle, to the slander of an other, this thing and that thing, which yet hath no certaintie, and which full loth she would haue saide of her selfe vpon like coniectures? No no we see too much the cursed course of lawlesse tongues in eueric place, though the Lorde in mercie giueth some consciences, and a thousande times I begge that we woulde see our sinne, confesse our sinne, and rippe vp our guilt in this respect. Why shoulde wee be so dull and without feeling? If it be a vertue thus to prittle and prattle of eueric bodie, vncertaine tales, but most certaine discredites, then prooue it so, and vse it: but if it bee a branch of false witnesse, that doth truly witnesse gods wrath to hang ouer vs for it, good Lorde, shall we still be polluted with it?"

[Tea Gowns in 1878.—See The World article, reprinted in The Royal Exchange, Nov. 9, 1878, a number sent out as an advertisement. (I, of course, see nothing of the set of folk referred to in it.)

"It is not so very long ago that the appearance in the drawing room or in any other place where she was visible to the naked eye of the male sex, of a lady loosely wrapped in her dressing gown, would have been an impossibility. But the world moves rapidly in this last quarter of the nineteenth century; and ladies, who a few years ago would have considered the idea appalling, calmly array themselves in the glorified dressing robe known as a 'tea gown,' and proceed to display themselves to the eyes of their admirers. . . . It is absolutely useless and utterly ridiculous; but this is not the worst that may be said about it. It is, to

all intents and purposes, a deshabille; and so great is the force of association, that the conversation is exceedingly apt, nay almost certain, to become déshabillé as well. The gentlemen, in houses where tea gowns prevail, relieve themselves of their shooting attire, and reappear very frequently in gorgeous smoking suits; there is an ease and sans facon about the whole proceeding that favours laxity of discourse, and advantage is generally taken of the latitude afforded. It is easier to take three strides forward than half a step backwards; consequently, when the company reassembles at dinner, the point of departure for the conversation is several degrees nearer to the doubtful borderland of hasarde allusions and double entendres than it would have been without the antecedent symposium en négligé. . . . Old-fashioned prudery has long been thrown aside in the eager desire for more admirers of such becoming raiment; the tea gowns have descended to the drawing-room and the hall, and have become more marvellous and more voyant in the transit. With the graceful neglige toilet there has come in a habit of lounging, which is certainly of most doubtful grace. Hands are not unfrequently to be seen clasped above or behind the head, thus often liberally exhibiting the arm by the falling back of the loose sleeve; feet and ankles are lavishly displayed as dainty slippers are rested on the fender; more ardent spirits recline in ostentatious repose on various sofas. It is considered the thing to suit the action to the attire, and exhibit in it the supremacy of ease. Any quiet spirits in the party generally disappear; they feel themselves as out of place among the stray remarks and hasardé stories, as their quiet morning dresses are among the pink and blue and other rainbow-hued tea gowns, with their lavish cascades of lace, and bewitching caps to match. They disappear; and when they again meet their friends at dinner-time, are apt to be somewhat astonished to find how much ceremony has been thrown to the winds in their brief absence, and on how much more familiar a footing their friends are than when they parted from them two or three hours before.

"... It will be doubtless said, tea gowns are far less objectionable than the extremely décolleté dresses of which such grievous complaint has been made during the last two seasons. But two wrongs do not make a right; and besides, objectionable as too décolleté dresses may be, they are still, by a fiction of society—that unwritten law which is of such infinitely greater force than all the statutes in the judicial archives—considered to constitute the fullest toilette, the greatest possible pitch of grande tenue; and owing to this belief they are by no manner of means so provocative of laxity of conversation as the moral dressing gown and

slippers of the tea-gown."]

For the loan of the following cut I have to thank Captain Harold Dillon. His uncle, at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, has a picture of one of the brothers of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., in the time of Elizabeth, with a Rose in his ear, like the fop on p. 78* note, above: the Rose is just stuck like a pen is, between the hair and the ear, showing the flower in front. The dandies must have carrid their heads very steadily, to have kept the flower from falling out. Perchance it had a woman's hair-pin to hold it in.

Irish Costumes. The 1584 edition of the Anatomic. 95.



Irish Costumes in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, from MS.

Rdel-procuse
Noblewoman Burgher-procuse Wild Irish

Wild Irish

p. 60°. The 1584 edition of the Anatomic.—Since I wrote the Forewords, Mr. Wallis has been kind enough to lend me his perfect copy of the 3rd (or 4th, or 3rd and 4th as Mr. Hazlitt and I now suppose) edition of the Anatomic, of '12 October 1584.' I have tested it in different places chosen at haphazard with the collations of the other editions given at the foot of the original text below, and have found that all of the few important changes there noted as due to E. 1585, had been made before in this (C-D.) edition of 12 Oct., 1584. Out of 58 passages tested (counting the sidenotes singly, would make em full 70) only 4 show small differences. It is clear, then, that Stubbes revised the 1584 edition more largely than that of 1585, though not so largely as the second of 1583 (August 1) and his last of 1595. The results of my testing follow:—

C-D. has all E.'s readings, p. iii.—2, 3-3, 11-11. p. iv.—6-6, 7, 9, 12, 13.

96° Collation of the 1584 edition of the Anatomic.

viii/6.-2, 4, 6-6 differs, having both A. and B.'s reading, and E.'s: 'a Lamp of light vnto the world, a mirrour of': has 7, 9, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21-21, 22, 23, 24

ix.-1-1 not in (as not in E.); 6, 11, 12, 13.

x.—Preface left out; as in B., E., F.

xiv.-9. xvi-Greck motto. xvii-3. xix-2.

30.-8-8. 36.-13 differs, having both A. and B. and E.: 'peltes felles & skins' (E. peltes & skins).

38.-6. 39.-2, 'more' not in C.-D. (as not in E.).

40.—7. 41.—3. 4, 10-10 not in C.-D. (as not in E.), 12-12. 68.—7. 70, 71, 72.—has E.'s sidenotes on Starche, A fearfull example, Women's lubricious mindes, and 2 on the Deuil; as well as E.'s headline, 72 foot. But keeps A. and B.'s 'Eprautna,' p. 71, against E.'s 'Antwarpe.'

79 note.—has the 'Deuil's bellowes' sidenote.
82.—8. 87.—has E.'s 'Handbaskets' headline, on back, and 'great paynes' side-note, &c.

96.-17. 97.-4 §, 9 'the' not in (as not in E.).

111-114.—has all the side-notes and headlines markt E. F., and the top sidenote on 113 markt F.

117, notes l. 2.-has, like E., 'Lawyers ruffling in.'

129-136.—has all the side-notes markt E. F., and all B.'s headlines.

139.—6, 10 'very' not in (as not in E.). 152.—9-9.
186-190.—has the side-notes of E., F.; but on p. 188 'A materiall Hell,' like F., against E.'s 'Materiall.' 191.—4, 5.

Mr. Wallis, too, thinks "that the other edition of 1584 exists only in imagination." He adds: "It may interest you to know that my 'Stubbes' has never been 'in the market.' It came from the library at Brookfield Hall, in this county, at its dispersal on the death of my father's cousin, Miss Hannah Wright, some dozen or fifteen years ago. These Wrights were descended from the Dr. Wright, M.D., F.R.S., at the sale of whose books (in 1787) the 'first folio' brought £10.1 He was a Derby man, and closely related to our family.2 I was told of a quantity (the word applies here) of such books-Horresco referens /- being taken from a loft over the stables, and used for fire-lighting and other base purposes by the grooms."

The title and colophon are given on the opposite leaf. The cut at the back of the colophon is that of the stooping robed man of B.

¹ Lot 1960. Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, first folio edition, bound in Russia leather with gilt leaves. 1623. £10.

1390. The Anatomie of Abuses, made Dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes,

bl. letter. 1583.

From the Derby Mercury, Oct. 26th, 1786:-"On Saturday the 14th inst. died at his house in Charles Street, Grosvenor Square, London, Richard Wright, M.D., F.R.S., late one of the physicians of St. George's Hospital; only son of the late Mr. Wright, surgeon, of this town (Derby). His remains were brought here yesterday, and interred in the family vault in St. Michael's Church."

The Anatomie of Abuses:

Containing

A Discouerie, or brief Summarie of such Notable Vices and Corruptions, as nowe raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especially) in the Countrey of AILGNA: Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, executed upon the wicked for the same, as well in AILGNA of late, as in other places, elsewhere.

Hery godly, to be read of all true Chrishians, every where: but most chiefly, to be regarded in England

Made Dialogue-wise by PHILLIP STVBS.

And now newly renised recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author.

MATH. 3. Ver. 2.
Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVKE. 13. Ver. 5.
I say vnto you, except you repent you shall all perith.

¶ Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12. October . 1584.

Perused, aucthorised, and al-

lowed, according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties
Injunctions,



At London

Printed by Richard Jones: dwellyng
at the Signe of the Rose
and the Crowne, neere
buto Holborne
Bridge.

1584.



PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

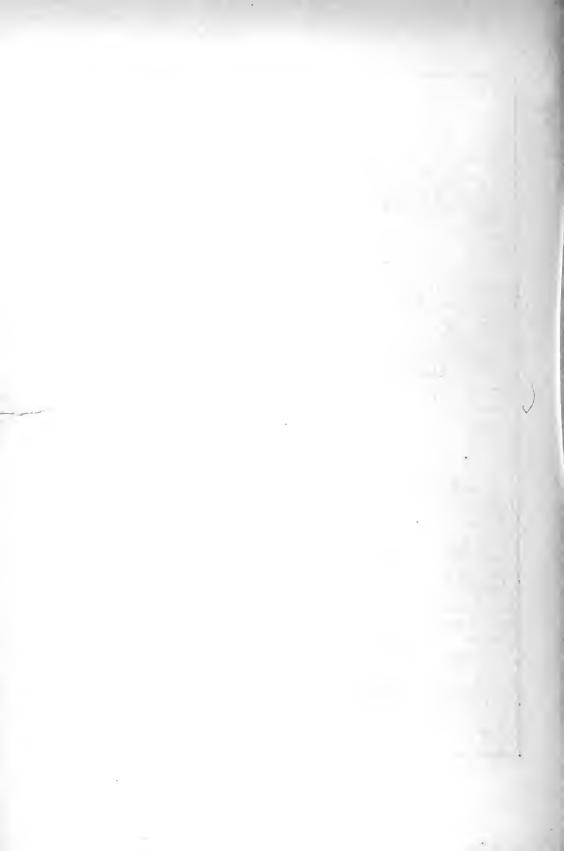
OF THE

ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.



[councelled them before, to go to 1 heare the Sermon, hauyng fome [This page and fparkes of faith in hym, was preferued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praise vnto God for his deliuerance. Thus have I in fempiternam rei me-2 moriam, faithfully recorded the Storie of these eight dronkardes, and P leaf 6, 11 1) of their fearfull ende, taken out of the3 Dutche coppie printed at Amsterdam, and at Straesburche,4 for a caucate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous persones throughout the whole worlde, that thei offende not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

(The mercy of god in saving of Adam Gibsens.

An other like example of Gods Diuine Justice, shewed vpon twoo Godes wrathe blasphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Toune of Nekerthosewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truth whereof is as followeth. These twoo Dronken verlettes, traineilyng by the waie, came Almana. E. F. J. into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hofte with speede brought them verie good; but thei diflikyng the Wine, for the newnesse thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; so in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good store. Thus fatte thei swillyng, and caroufyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.5 Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroufed to his fellowe, [A causat to the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he should drinke: quothe contemners of this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne God E, F.I alfo, and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God should pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. answered "of whether thou wilte." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reaching forthe his arme, as high as he 7 could, as though God should have pledged hym in deede, [7] leaf 67, back. faied these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou lonest beste: this newe wine is good inough, and too good for thee; if thou haddeft fent better, thou shouldest have had better; but suche as it is, Hehalde the take it, pledge me quickly, and caroufe it of enery fope, as I have this desail. doen to thee, if not, thou doeft me wrong." Hauyng thus firetched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe these wordes, the Lorde proceadeth in Judgemente againste

and severy turdicy executed vann z Drounk-

blasphemers, and the maiestic of

blasphemie of this denil, and feare, E. F. J.

to not in F.

[·] leaf 67. No head-line, II. E, F have An example of God's wrath. 4 Straesburcht F. 3 a in E. F. . Swine F.

also not in E. F. + leaf 67, track. No Anad-line, B. · hadst F. SHARSPERE'S ENGLAND: STURBER, 8

[This page, to L.
1], not to A.]
[The Lord
trikes the
blasphemous
drunkard.]

[hym: caufyng his arme to stande stedfast and vnmoueable, so as he was not able to pull it to hym, nor to stere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained, his countenaunce not changed. but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceived to come forthe of hym, nor yet to speake one worde he was 2 able: and yet for all that, seemed to every one to be a line. After this the people affaied to remoue hym from that place, but 3 could not by any strength. In the ende thei tyed Horses to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once stere hym. Then thei affaied to burne the house, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the house: wherefore, when thei sawe all their waies and deuises to be frustrate, perswadyng themselues, that God had made hym a spectacle to all dronkards, thei surceased their attemptes,4 and withed the wil of the Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the fame pitifull case you have heard, ftandeth this blasphemous villain to this daie, vnremoueable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to release hym. Whose bleffyd will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Dronken beaft his companion, thei hanged vppon a Gibbette, before the dore of the same house, as he well deserved! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, punished this horrible vice of Dronkennesse, which God graunte euery true Christian6 maie auoide, for feare of Gods vengeance. Added in B, E, F.]

Oh fearefull judgement of God, yet most just punishmente, E, F.]

[\$ leaf 68, Il.†]

[7 sign. I 7. A.]

(sign. 1 7. A.)

⁷ Spud. ⁸ Shew mee I pray, ⁹ the state of that Cuntrey a little further: is it a welthic Countrey with-in it-selfe, or otherwyse poore and bare?

[England,] Ailgna a famous Yland. 10 Philo. It is a most famous Yland, a 11 fertile Cuntrey, & 12 abounding with all maner of store, both 13 of riches, treasure, & 14 all things els whatsoeuer; but as 15 it is a 15 welthie and riche Countrey, 16 so are the inhabitaunts, from the highest to the lowest, from the priest to the populare 17 forte, euen all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to couet-

¹ a long time after B, E, F. ² was not F. ³ but they F. ⁴—⁴ their enterprises any further F. † leaf 68. No head-line. B, ⁶ man added in E. F.

In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed:—Couetousnesse in Ailgna.

This side-note not in B, E, F.

This side-note not in B, E, F.

The and E; and a F.

The country is E, F.

Country not in E, F.

The country is E, F.

The country not in E, F.

ournes and ambition; which thing whileft they follow, they can never (Englishmen be satisfied, for, crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit: The loue of mony doth by fo much the more increase, by how much more the monie it 1 felfe doth increase; and the nature of a couetous man. The nature of is fuch that tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet: as well that thing which he hath, as that which he hath not, is wanting vnto him. he A² couctouse man may³ wel be compared to Hell, which ever gapeth and yawneth for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, fo a couetous man, drowned in the The insaciable quagmire or plath of auarice and ambition, having his fummam by concession luptatem reposed in momentaine 6 riches, is never content with inough, but still thirsteth for more, much like to a man sicke of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thurs teth; the more he thursteth, 17 1 7, back) the more he drinketh⁸; the more he drinketh, the more his difeafe increaseth. Therfore I hould it true which is writ, burfa quari or est diaboli; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, The pure of a riche Man. which euer is open to receive, but alway that to give.

Covetous

leaf 66, back.

Spud. But they will eafily wipe away this blot, 10 namely in faying, 10 are we not bound to prouyde for our felues, 11 our wynes, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apostle hold him for an infidell and 12 a deneger of the faith, who prouydeth not for his Wyfe and Family? 13 Is it not good to lay up fomthing against a stormie day? wherfore they wil rather deeme themselues good husbands,13 than couetous or ambicious persons,14

15 Philo. Euery Christen Man is bound, 16 in conscience before God, [15 leaf to 18 +] to prouide for their 17 houshould & Family, but yet so as his immoderat. How tarre care furpaffe not the bands, 15 nor yet 19 transcend 20 the limits, of true Godlynes. His chiefest trust & care is to rest onely in the Lord, who

bound to pro Familie.

· leaf 68, back. The nature of a couctous man, R.

³ Therefore may a E, F. 3 may not in E. F.

quanemire of anarice and plashe of B, E, F; after and F aids plunged in the.

^{*} momentary F. 1 _ 1 mot in E. F. and the E, F. 10-10 for B, E, F. 11 (saie thei) added in B, E, F. 12 or F.

¹³_13 And therefore herein we shew ourselves rather good houshandes, careful, and obedient Christians, B, E, F.

¹⁴ This I have heard them pretend for themselves added in B, E, F; E has This exception have I; F has have I, and alleadge for pretend.

¹⁸ bound indeed B, E. † leaf 69. Moderate care alowable. B. 17 his B, E, F. 10 boundes F. 10 yet not in B, E, F. not the B, E.

Immoderate care for riches reproued.

[1 sign. I 8. A.]

Land-Lords racke their tenantes. [* leaf 69, back. B.†]

Inclosing of commons from the Poore.

[12 I 8. back]

[Take heed you Rich, who poll and pill the Poor!] giveth liberally to every one that asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed to the performance of the fame. But fo farre from couctoufnes, & from immoderate care, wold the Lord haue vs,2 that we ought not this day to 'care for to morow, for (faith he) fufficient to the day is the trauail of the fame. After all thefe 8 things (with a diffrufffull & inordinat care) do the heathen feek, who know not God,' faith our Saujour christ; 'but be you not like to them.' And yet I say, as we are not to distrust the prouidence of God, or despaire for any thing, fo are we not to prefume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such 4 secundary 5 and instrumental 4 meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to that end & purpose to get our owne lyning & maintenance withall. But this people, leaving these Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetousnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & affaying al meanes, possible to 6 exaggerat &6 heap vp riches, 6that 7 thick clay of damnation, to themselves for ever.6 So (likwise) Land⁸lords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raifing their fines & incommes, & fetting them fo straitely 9 yppon the tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Befides that, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to have all their forrage 10 and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for them felues to lyne vppon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and ytter beggering of 11 whole townes and parithes, whose tragicall cries and incessant 12 clamors have long fince pearced the Skyes, and prefented them-felues before the Maiesty of God, saying,13 how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of 14 thy poore Sainctts and vnworthie 15 members uppon the earth? Take heed, therfore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miscarie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, finister 16 oppres-

```
1—1 for the getting F.

4 causes added in E.

5—6 not in F.

7 the B, E.

14 leaf 69, back. Inclosures in Ailgna.

9 straight B, E, F.

10 prouision F.

11 of many B, E, F.

12 to be added in F.

7 the B, E.

7 the B, E.

13 triyng B, E, F.

14 doen to B, E, F.

15 seelie E; silly F.

16 biting F.
```

fions, and indirect dealings, shall be 1 powred uppon your heads 1 at the great daye of the Lord. Curfed is he (faith our Saujour Christ) that offendeth one of these litle ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged about his neck, & he cast into the middest of the sea. Christ ² fo entierely loueth his poore members vppon earth, that he imputeth this ba the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himfelfe, and will reuenge it as done to himfelfe. wherfor Gop give them grace to lay open their inclosures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impolitions, wherby Gop is offended, their 3 poore Brethren beggered, &, I feare mee, the whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mischiese be not met withall, Inclosures and incountred with verie shortlie. For these inclosures be the causes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beatls doo eat graffe: These, I say, are the 4 Caterpillers and denouring locustes that massacre the 5 poore, [3 sign K t. A.] & eat vp the whole realme to the destruction of the same: The Lord remoone them !

members is miury to (" leaf yo. 11.")

ruffing t in lio A | poure Mens riches. [fruite F.]

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they 7goe rufling? in their filks, Lawyers veluets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes, 8 fumptuous edefices,8 and flately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they have bands and retinewes of men attendant uppon them daylie; they purchase castels & towers, Lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vppon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

They have fo good confciences that all is fifth that comes to the net; thei refuse nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients cause, 10 the Lorde kno11 weth, and one day [11 load 70, back they shall finde it. If you have argent, or rather rubrum unguentum, Oyntment to I dare not fay Gold, but red oyntment to greafe them in the fift with- in the fift all, than your fute thall want no furtherance; but if this 12 be wanting, than farewel clyent; he may go shooe the goose for any good succetse he is like to have of his matter: without this, therities & Officers wil returne writs with a tarde venit, or with a non eft inventus, finally to the poore mans profit. 13 So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

1-1 required at your hands F.

13 But so B, E, F. 13 this liquor B, E, F.

[·] leaf 70. Inclosures vadoe the Poore, B. E also has Lawyers ruffling in, 4 amende B, E, F. 3 the B, E, F. 4 the not in F. 7-7 ruffle it out B, E, F. and in F. • there bandes E; (their F.) 10 causes B, E, F. ! leaf 70, back. Powlyng Lawyen, in Ailgna. II.

118 What maketh things deere. The Anatomie

(* K s, back)
The pretensed excuse of Lawers when their cliants have loost their plees.

The slaightie practises of lawers.

[7 leaf 71. B. t]

The fraudulent dealing of marchant Men.

Artificers.

[14 sign, K 2. A.]

Great dearth in plenty of all things.

they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and inft; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one atke them 1 why they tould not their clients fo in the beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himselfe; he tould me the best, but not the worst; he thewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this prefident & that prefident,2 turning al the fault vpon the fuggefter; wheras the whole fault indeed is in himfelfe, as his own conscience can beare him witnesse. In presence of their clients they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their flaightes wold thinke they would go together by the eares³); this is to draw on their clients withal; but immediatly after, their clients being 5 gon, they laugh in their sleeues to fee how pretily they 6 fetch in such som⁷mes of money; and that, vnder the pretence of equitie and inflice. But though thei can for a time (prefligiatorum in flar 8), like cunning deceivers, cast a mist before the blind world, yet the Lord, who feeth (9 fuborned by none 9) the fecrets of all harts, thall make them manifest to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The 10 marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfait balances & vutrue waights, and by their furprifing of their wares, heap vp infinit treafures. 11 The Artificer 11 & Occupyers, euen all in generall, will not fell their wares for no 12 reasonable price, but will 13 sweare & teare pittifully, that such a thing cost them so much, & such a thing so much, wher as they swear as false as the lyuing Lord is true. But one day let them be fure that the Lord (who faith 'thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceive thy Brother in bargaining') will reuenge this villanie done to his Maiestie.

¹⁵ Into fuch a ¹⁵ ruinous effat hath couetoufnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great ¹⁶ fearfitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might have been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie shillings, is now

² this Writing and that Writing added in F.
4 instead of a shoying horne added in E, F.
5 bee B, E, F.

they can E, F. tleaf 71. What maketh thynges deare. B. more for instar B, E, F.

¹⁰ Vpon the other side, for the F.
11—11 Artificers B, E, F.
12 any F.
13 will not in E, F.
15—15 Yea, into such F.
16 great not in F.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.1 That which than was worth twentie pound is now 2 worth a C. pound, and more: Wherby the [leaf ps. back. rich Men haue so balaunced their chefts with Gold and filuer, as they cracke againe. And to such excetle is this couctousnes growne, as enery one that hath money will not flick to take his neighbors house ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired: Wherthorow many a Taking of poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to Mean beads. begge their bread all 4their dayes 4 after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man haue eyther house or Land, they will neuer rest vntill they have purchased it, giving him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Besides all this, so desperately given are many, that for The desperat the acquiring of filuer and Gold, they will not of tlicke to imbrew to get money. their hands, and both their armes, in the blood of their Towne Parents [K a, back] and Freends most vnnaturally. Other some will not make any confcience to fweare and forfweare themselues 8 for euer, 8 to lye, ditlemble, and deceive the decreft frends they have in the world. Therfore the heathen Poet, Virgill, faid very well, O facra auri fames, quid non mortalia peclora cogis: Oh cursed desire of gold, what mischief is it but thou forcest Man to attempt it for the love of thee! This immoderat thirst of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end; Many brought 9 fome as homicides 9 for murthering and 10 killing; fome 11 as latrones, 11 to rufull end for robbing & 12 stealing: tome for one thing, some for another; 13 So and albert. that furely I think 14 major est numerus Hominum, 14 quos dira auaritice [13 leaf 72. B. ?] pestis absorpsit, quam quos gladius vel ensis perforauit: 15 the number of those 15 whom the pestilence of anarice hath swallowed vp, 16 is greatter 16 than the number of those whom the sword hath destroid. The Lord affwage the heat 17 hereof with the oyle of his grace,18 if it be his good pleafure and wil!

Spud. If I might be fo bold, I wold request you to shew me, out of the word of god, where this fo deteftable a vice is reproued.

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• leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousnesse in Ailgna. B.
<sup>3</sup> Whereby E; Wherby F.
                            the dayes of their lines F. getting F.
                                                       . - not in F.
      hathe B, E, F.
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† leaf 72. Testimonies against Couetousnes. B. 14_14 the number of men is greater B, E, F; F has to be for is. 13_13 not in B, E, F. 14_14 not in B, E, F.

If raging heate F.

16 gracious mercy for grace F.

as we see dayly, some are hanged F. 10 some for instead of and F. 13 some for instead of & F.

120 Punishment of Vsurers. The

The Anatomie

Math. 6, Festimonies out of the word of find against couetousnes.

I' uga K j Al

Luc 6. Math, ix.3

Bible bits against covet ousness.]

[5 leaf 72, back. 11.1]

ı Timo, vi.

Psalm 39.

Prouerb t. Proue, xxvii.

[K 3, back]

Mat. 5. Lasc. 6. Philo. Our Sauiour Christ Iesus, the ¹Arch-doctor ¹ of all truth, in his Euangely, the fixt of Mathew, faith, 'Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow thall care for it selfe.'

Againe, 'be not carfull for Apparell, what 2you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteouties therof, and all these things shal be given vnto you, He charged his Disciples to be so farre from couetonsnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneys, nor yet any money in their puries. He tould his Disciples another time, stryuing which of them thould be the greattest, that he who wold be the greattest, must condescend to be sernant of all. When the people wold have advaunced him to have beene King, he refused it, and hid him felf. vs, we 'cannot ferue two Maisters, God & Mammon': he biddeth vs 'not to fet our minds vppon couetousnes'; inferring that 'wher bour riches be 6, there will our harts be also. He faith, 'it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in 7 riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.' The Apostle biddeth vs, 'if we have meat &8 drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (faith he) fall into dinerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.' Danid faith, 'Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall possesse them.' Salom on compareth a couetous man to him that murthereth & sheadeth innocent bloud. Againe, 'Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be 9 fatified. The Apostle S. Paule faith, 'neither Whormongers. Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shal euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.' And faith further, that 'the loue of monie is the root of al euil.' Christ biddeth vs 'be 10 liberal & lend to them that have need, not looking for any restitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from vs.' By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes the lord wold have al christians 11 to be.

¹⁻¹ teacher F.

³ E has Math. 9; F has no figure. † leaf 72, back. Punishment of Couctousnesse. B.

⁴ humble F.
6 is B, F.

⁷ in his F. 8 & not in F.

¹⁰ to be F.

¹¹ his children F.

leave to the Lord.

Spud. Be their any examples in 1 fcriptures 2 to 3 thew foorth the punishmentes of the same, in flicted upon the Offenders therin ?2

[* leaf 73. B. *]

Philo. The Scripture is full of fuch fearful examples of the just iudgements of God powred spon them that have offended herein; Wherof I will recite three or four, for the fatiffying of your Godly 6 townen shed by said mind. Adam was cast out of Paradice for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. Giefe,7 the Servant of Elizeus the Prophet, 4 Reg. 5. was fmitten with an incurable leprofie, for that he, to fatisfie his couetous defire, exacted gold, filuer, & riche garments, of Naaman, the K. of Siria his fernant. Balaam was reproued of his affe for his Num ve. couctournes in going to curse the Children of Ifrael at the request of Milde examples K. Balac, who promifed him aboundance of gold & filter to doo, for corretousness Achab, the K., for conclousnes to have pore Naloth his viniard, flew him, and dyed after himfelfe, with all his progeny, a thameful death. Prign. K 4. A.1 The Sonnes of Samuel were, for their infaciable couetoufnes, deteined 10 Sa vai. from euer injoying their Fathers kingdome. Iudas, for couetoufnes of mony, fould the Saniour of the world, and betrayed him to the lewes, but afterward dyed a miserable death, his bellye burfting, & his bowels gushing out. Ananias and Saphira his wife, for couctous. Act. v. nes in concealing part of the price of their 11 lands from the apottles, | left 73 back were both flain, & died a fearful death. Achan was floned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couctoufnes in stealing 12 gold, filter, & lewels at the facking of Iericho, & al his goods were burned presently. Thus you see how for couctousness of mony, in all ages, Men haue made thipwrack of their confeiences, and in the end, by the IGod's Jodg-

ment of coneed by exam-

iust judgement of God, have dyed fearful deaths; whose judgments I can men !

Spud. Seeing that couctoufnes is fo wicked a fin, & fo offenfine both to God & Man, & pernicious to the foule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the fame 13 as they doo.

Ph. Two things 14 moue men to affect mony fo 15 much as they

1 in the holic E, F. (holy F.)

1-1 of the Justice of God, inflicted vpon them that have offended herein F. · leaf 73. Plagues for Couetousnesse, II. 3 that E.

6 Godly net in F. a executed F.

7 Gehesie F. * and other F. 10 restrained F.

† leaf 73, back. Vaine titles of [maister and E] worship in Ailgna. B. 10 so much added in F. 11 for F.

14 in my judgement, added in B, E, F; (F adds doe.) 18 so so A. do: the one, for 1 feare least they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh,

What make Men to affect money.

[K 4, back]

Euery Begger almost is called Maister at cuery word.

[12 leaf 74. B.†]

[Titivillers, that is, flattering fellows, E, F.1

Refusing of vaine Titles [not in E, F.]

ridiculous? infidelitie!) the other,3 to be advanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei fee the world is fuch, that he who hath moni enough shalbe rabbied & maistered at every word, and withal faluted with 6 the vaine title of 6 'worthipfull,' 7 and 'right worshipfull,'7 though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vse to terme them. And to such outrage 8 is it growne, that now adayes every Butcher, Shooemaker, Tailer, Cobler,9 Hufband-man, 10 and other 10; yea, euery Tinker, pedler, 11 and swinherd, every Artificer and other, gregarii ordinis, of the vileft forte of Men that be, must be called by the vain name of 'Maisters' at enery word. But it is certen that no wyse Man will intitle them with any of these names, 'worshipfull' and 'maister,' (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to the Godly wyfe, for fome speciall vertue inherent 12, either els 18 in respect of 13 their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but such Titiuillers, flattering Parafits, and glofing Gnatoes as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might eafily perceive. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter 14 them with these titles, knowing that 15 they deserue nothing 16 lesse. 17 Wherfore, like good 18 Recufants 19 of that thing which is euill 19,17 they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembring the words of our fauiour Christ, faying,20 'be not called Maister,' in token there is but one onely true [" sign. K s. A.] Maifter and Lord in Heauen; 21 which only true Maifter & Lord, God

> to 22 perfect men in Iefus Christ. Spud. The people beeing fo fet vpon couetousnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without

> graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, until they come

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a for for F.
                                            2 distrustfull B, E, F.
2 other for desire B, E, F; (F has a for for)
                                                    by for with E, F.
  6 Gentleman and added in F.
                                               7_7 not in B, E, F.
  extreme madnesse B, E, F.
                                              9 cobler and B, E, F.
                        10_10 not in B, E, F.
                                           12 in them added in F.
     † leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B.
                                               .15 that not in E, F.
  13_13 for B, E, F.
                           14 floute E, F.
16 no F.
                 17_17 And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.
                    19_19 not in B, E, F.
                                                   20 saying not in F.
18 wyse E.
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22 to be E, F.

vsurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn? 1 for vsurie followeth couetouf nes, as the thadowe dooth the bodie.

l' leaf 74, back.

Great Vsurie in Ailgna. Philo.

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there? (for the most voury, part), without vsurie 4 & loane, or with-out some good hostage, guage,5 or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

Spud. I have heard fay that the positive and statute lawes there The possitive doo permit them to take vsurye, limitting 6 them how much to 7 take for euery pound.

Philo. Although the civile lawes (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) doo permit certain fommes of money to be given 9 overplus, beyond or 10 aboout the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the viurers no more 11 discharged from the gilt of viurie before God [10 K s. back] therby, then the adulterous lewes were from whordome, because Moyses gaue them a permissive law, for every man 12 to put away 13 their wives 13 that would, for 14 every light trifle. 14 And yet the 15 lawes there. The lawes of giue no libertie to commit víurie; but feeing how much 16 it rageth, no vaura. left it thould exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all reason and godlynes, - As couetousnes is a raging sea and a bottomletse pit, and 17 neuer fatisf sied nor contented,—they have limited them 16 with16in certain meeres and banks 20 (to bridle the infatiable defires of 179 leaf 75 R 1) couetous men), beyond the which it is not lawful for any to go. but this permission of the lawes argueth not that it is lawful to take vsury no more (I say) then the permission of Moyses argued that whordome & adulterie is 21 lawfull & good, because Moyses permitted them to put away their wives for the avoiding of greater cuil 22: for, as christ faid to the lewes, 'from the beginning it was not fo,' fo fay I to these viurers, from the beginning it was not so, nor yet ought 25 so to be.25

I I thinke not, added in B. E. F. · leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie, B. in England F. interest addal in E. F. 1 pawne added in F. appointing F. . Statute F. 1 they shall E, F, * & taken addal in F. 11 one F. 13 _13 his wife E, F. 14_14 any light offence E, F. 10 positive lawes E, F. 17 and not in E, F. 14 it E, F. + leaf 75. Vsurie vnlawfull. II. Heuils F. B_B to be so F. 20 boundes F. 11 was then E, F.

Spud. If no interest were permitted, then no man would lend, & then how should the poor doo? wherfore the lawes, that permit some finall ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.2

Philo. 3 Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum: we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting ⁴ certain reasonable gain to be received for the loane of money lent, left otherwise the poore should quaile 5 (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) have not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any fuch permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended,7 which was to impale within the Forrest, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for 8the loane of their money lent, and not to authorife any man to commit vsurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therfore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of vsury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo slaunder the lawes, & are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, 'thou shalt not take aboout ij.s. in the pound, x.li. in a hundred,' 9 and fo fo 10 foorth, 9 Dooth this prooue that it is lawful to take fo much, or rather that thou shalt not take more then that? If I 11 fay to a man, 11 'thou shalt not give him aboout one or two blowes,' 12 dooth this prooue that I licence him to give him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not give him any at al, or if he doo,13 he shal not exceed or passe the bands 14 of resonable mesure? so this law dooth but mitigate the penalty, for it faith that the party that taketh but 15 x.li, for the vie of an C.li, loseth but the x.li, not his principal.

16 Spud. Then I perceive, if Víurie be not lawful by the lawes of the Realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

1 then not in E, F. 2 in my opinion added in E, F; (F has mine for my) 3 The Apostle teacheth vs added in B; The Apostle sayth, E, F. 5 vtterly be distressed F. 6 not added in B, E, F. † leaf 75, back. Vsurie vnlawfull by Gods lawe. B. 10 so for so so B, E. 9-9 &c. F.

11-11 see a man will needes fight with another, a (sic) I having authority ouer him, say vnto him F.

12 at the most added in F.

15 that added in E, F. 14 bounds F. 15 aboue B, E, F.

[4 sign. K 6, A.]

The lawes permit some ouerplus, but commaund it [not] 6

[8 leaf 75, back. B.†]

Forbidding to outrage in mischeef is not : permission to comit mischeef. 11 mircheef A. no F.

116 K 6, back]

Philo. You may be fure of that; For our Saujour Christe willeth Math 5. 5. vs to be fo far from conetouines and viury, as he faith, "giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away." Againe,1 " Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward shalbe great in heauen." If wee The word of must lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, vsune. no, not fo much as the bare thing lent, where is the interest, the vsurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fifth for fo much? Therfore our Saniour Christe saith, beatins est dare, potius 3 quam accipere: It is more bleffed to give, then to receive. In the 22. of Erodus, Deut. 24. 23. Leuit. 25, Nehe. 5, Eze. 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vie any kinde of viury, or interest, or to receive again Esech sa, sk. any ouer-pluss befides the principall, either in money, come, wine, oyle, beafts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what soeuer. Dauid asketh a question of the Lord, saying, Lord, who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy hil? wherto he giucth Pulm 15. the folution him felf,8 faying, 'euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not given his mony vnto víurie, nor taken reward against the puign K , Al innocent: who so dooth these things shall never fall.' In the 15 of Deut, the Lord willeth vs not to crave again the thing we have lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawful when it is not (then) to aske again that which is lent (for it is not the law of good again our goods leat. conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare 10 it then the other 11 to pay it,) much leffe is it lawful 12 to demaund any vfury or ouer-plus. And for this cause the Lord faith, 'let there be no begger unongft you, nor poore person 13 amongft the Tribes of Ifrael. Thus, 123 leaf 76, back you fee, the woord of God abandonneth viurie euen to hel; and all writers, bothe divine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moued onely by the inflinct of nature and rules of reason, haue alwaies abhord it. Therfore Cato, beeing demaunded what viurie was, isked againe, 'what it was to kill a man?' making vsurie equivalent with murther: And good reason, for he that killeth a 14 man, riddeth and interest A 1

[leaf yd. B. *]

4 Exodus so.

lawfull to aske

Hethen men

[·] leaf 76. The word of God against Vsurie. B. I And againe F. potius not in F. 4_4 not in F. 3 or B, F, F.

or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F. 1 Palm 25 in A; 16 in F. him-self not in F. 10 forbear F. 11 other is E. F. 12 for thee added in F.

[†] leaf 76, back. Vsurie equall with Murther. B.

¹⁴ a a (sie) A.

126 Imprisoning for debt cruell. The Anatomie

vanry equall with murther.

[4 K 7, back]

Sute commenced against him that is not able to pay awed the Vsury as the Principall. [8 leaf 77. B.†]

To prison with him that cannot pay the vsury.

No mercy in imprisoning of poor-men for vaury.

[** sign. K 8. A.]

No crueltie to be shewed, but mercy and compasion ought to be extended,

him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vsury, is long in butchering his pacient, fuffering 1 him by little & little to languish, and fucking out his hart 2 blood, neuer leaueth him fo long as he feeleth any vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming foorth of him. The Vfurer killeth not one but many, bothe Hufband, Wife, Children, seruants, samelie, and all, not sparing any. And if the poore man have not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when focuer this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then fute shalbe commenced against him; out go butter-flies and writs, as thick as haile; fo the poore man is apprehended and brought coram nobis, 6 and beeing once convented, judgement condemnatorie and 6 diffinitive fentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the viury & the loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he have not to fatisfie aswel the one as th' other, 8 then to Bocardo goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye vntil he rotte, one peece from an other, without fatiffaction bee made. Caitiue! no man, but a deuil; no Christian, but a cruel Tartarian and merciletle Turck / dareft thou look vp toward heaven, or canst thou hope to be faued by the death of Christe, that sufferest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren & fisters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Iesus, vessels of faluation, coheirs with him of his fuperiall9 kingdom, adoptive fonnes of his grace, & finally faints in heauen, to lye and rot in prifon for want of payment of a little droffe, which at the day of dome shall beare witnetfe against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very stones of the prison 10 walles shall rise vp against thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this love? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to 11 doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cutteft of thy felfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but also hewest off other members from the fame true vine, Christe Iesus? No, no;

causing F.

2 if in him or any more gaines comming from F.

5 is B, E, F.

7 the not in F.

^{6—6} then presently E, F. † leaf 77. Imprisonyng for debt cruell. B.

⁹ supernall B, E, F.

¹¹ to not in F.

thou art a member of the Deuil, a limme of Sathan, and a Childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren1 in such forte for any worldly matter whatfoeuer. Wee 2 ought to shew mercie and not crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespatles and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all revenge to him who faith, Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (faith the LORD).

[leaf 77, back.

Beleeue mee, it greeneth mee to heare (walking³ in the streats) the pitiful cryes, and miferable complaints of poore prisoners in durance. The periodal for debt, and like fo to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, Prisoners in meat, drink (though of the meanest forte), and clothing to their dept. backs, lying in filthie strawe, and both some dung, wurtle then anie Dogge, voide of all charitable confolation and brotherly comfort bin [3 K 8, back] this World, withing and thyriting after death to fet them at libertie, and loofe them from their thackles, gives, and yron bands.

Notwithstanding, some mercilesse tygers are growen to such bar- A typessicke barous crueltie that they blush not to say, "tush! he shall either paye saying mee the whole, or cls7 lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks; and before I will release him, I will make dice of his bones." But Math, will. take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man⁸), left the Lord fay to thee, as he faid to that wicked Seruant (who having great fommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his Brother his fmall debte, but, catching him by the throte, faid, 'pay that thou owest'), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter Darknes, wher shall 10 be weeping and gnathing of teeth.

An Viurer is worse than a Thief, for the one stealeth but for need, An Viurer the other for coucitousnes and excesse 11: the one stealeth but in the Third [and in E.] night commonly; the other daylie and hourely, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

[" leaf yd. B. +]

An Viurer is worse than a lew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye vsurie of their Brethren, according to the lawe of Gon.

They are worse than Iudas, for he betraied Christ but once, made

1 brethen (sic) F.

· leaf 77, back. The tyranny of Vsurers. B. 4-4 stinking litter F.

Ochristian B, E, F.

lew. () worse N. E. F.) An Voures worser | than Indas. (6 worse B, E.)

An Voorer worser ! then a

- as I walk F. 4 these B, E, F.
- he shal added in F.
 - † leaf 78. Vaurers worse then the Deuill. B.
- o did F.

11 lucre F.

128 Scriueners, Instruments of vsurie. The Anatomie

restitution, and repented ¹ for it ¹ (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these Vsurers betray Christ in his members daylie and hourly, ² without any remorse or restitution at all.

(* sign. L 1, A.)
Vourers wurste
then Hel.

An Vaurer wursse then Death,

An vaurer wurse then the Deuil.

The sayings of Godly Fathers and Writers against vsury. [4 leaf 78, back. B.†]

Vsurers punished 6 with sundry tortures.

Scriuiners the Divels agents to set forward Vserie.

[7 L 1, back]

They are wurffe then hel it felf, for it punisheth but only the wicked and reprobate, but the Viurer maketh no difference of any, but punitheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vfurer destroyeth both body & foule for euer. And, to be breef, the Vfurer is wurffe then the Deuil himself, for the Deuill plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the Vsurer plagueth not onely those that are within his iurisdiction alredy, but euen all other, without permission of any. Therfore, saith Ambrose, if any man commit viurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage, and he ought to dye. Alphonfus called viury nothing els then a life of death. Lycurgus banished all kind of vsury out of his lands. Cato did the Agespilaus, Generall of the Lacedemonians, burned the Vsurers bookes in the open market places. Claudius Vaspatiannus, and after him Alexander Seuerus made tharpe lawes against vsury, and vtterly extirped the same.5 Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, have sharply inveighed against this deuouring canker of viury; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, avoid it. And if it be true that I heare 7 fay, there be no men fo great doers in this noble facultie and famous science as the Scriueners be: For it is fayd (and I feare me too true) that there are some to whome is committed 8a hundred or two of poundes,8 of9 fome more, of fome leffe, they puttinge in good fureties to the owners for the repayment 10 of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, 11 defiring them 11 to lende them fuche a form of money, and they wil recompence them at their owne defires, who making refufall at the firste, as though they had it not (to acuate 12 the minds of the poore petitioners withall 13), at last they lend them how much they defire,

1—1 not in E, F.

† leaf 78, back. Scriueners instruments of Vsurie. B.

5 out of their dominions added in F.

6—6 sundry wayes F.

9 to in B, E, F.

10 payment F.

11—11 with request F.

12 whette F.

13 you must ynderstande added in B, E, F.

receiving of the poore men what interest &1 assurance they lust 2 themselves, and binding them, their lands, Goodes, and all, with [leaf > R.] forfaiture thereof if they fayle of payment: where note, by the way, the Scrivener is the Instrument wherby the Diuell worketh 5 the frame 8 of this wicked woorke of Víurie, hee beeing rewarded with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the The Scriulners Archdiuel 8 who owes the money, for helping him to fuch 9 vent for his taunce for has coyne: Secondly, he hath a greate deale 10 more vsurie to himselfe, of him who boroweth the money, 11 than he alloweth the owner of the mony 11: And, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings between them. 12 And thus the poore man is fo implicate 13 [10 sign. L a. A.] and wrapped in on euerie fide, as it is impossible for him euer 14 to get out of the briers 15 without loffe of all that ener hee hath, to the very tkin. Thus the riche are inriched, 16 the poore beggered, and Christ lefus dishonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us! 17 De his hactenus 17.

paymen,

[18 Greate Swearyng in Ailgna.

This chapter

Spud.

What is the 19 qualitie, 20 and 19 naturall disposition 21 of this people? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people: For the faiying is, that the woorde of God, and good Religion, florisheth in that lande, better then in the greatest parte of the worlde besides. England, but the And I am fullie perswaded, that where the woorde of God is truely wicked still E. prached and his Sacramentes duely ministered (all whiche thei 22 haue) [10 leaf 79, back. there must all thynges needes prosper, and goe forwarde; wherefore I defire to knowe your judgement, whether all these thinges be so, or not.

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2 list B, E, F.
                                                         both E, F.
      and also E, F.
                  · leaf 79. Great swearyng in Ailgna. B.
    *- this laudable worke, rewarding his Vassail F.
                                                              · effecte E.
    1-1 laudable woorke, rewarding his vassall, B, E.
                                                         * master deuil F.
                                                   n_n not in B, E, F,
                              10 deale not in F.
    such not in B, E, F.
                             14 hardly F.
                                                  13 againe added in F.
      13 intangled F.
                                               17_11 not in B, E, F.
        14 inrinched (nc) F.
    16 This chapter, not in A, is added in B, E, & F.
                                                        11_11 not in F.
      10 Inclination, added in E.
                                               31 dispositistion (nv) F.
   † leaf 79, back. Hipocrisie vnder the cloke of Christianity. B.
                                                                     E. Au.
The disposition of Englishmen.
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SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STURBER.

130 The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. The Anatomie

(This page not in A.)

[The naturall disposition of Englishmen, E. F.]

[Great wickednesse committed vnder the cloke of the gospell, E, F.] [5 leaf 80. B.†]

[Papistes suffered in England with too much lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists living in prison lyke Princes, E. F.]

[Philo. The worde of God is truely and fincerely preached there, and his Sacramentes duely 1 and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde2; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie3 reformed, according to the prescripte of Gods woorde, sauying that a fewe remnantes of superstition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the ficele of Gods woorde. And as concerning the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee defirous of newfangles, praifyng thynges pafte, contemnying thinges prefent, and couetyng after thynges to come, Ambicious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I aufwere. If Religion confift in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwise, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the woorde of God sereouslie, night & daie (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flockyng after fermons from place to place, euerie hower almoste: thei receive the Sacramentes duely, and thei behave themselves in all thinges verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate forte plaie the Hipocrites herein egregiouslie; and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of Debuilrie, purchasing to themselves the greater damnation, in that thei make the worde of God, a vizard⁶ to couer their abhominations withall. as for Sectes, Schifmes,7 and fundrie factions, thei want none amongest them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongest them. These sedicious Vipers, and pithonicall Hidraes, either lurke fecretely in corners, feducyng her Maiesties Subjectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward decorum, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man faie 'blacke is their eve,' but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitours (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei line like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in fumpteous attire, and flowing in 8 gold and filuer. And no maruell, for every one is fuffered to come to

¹ sincerely F.

² besides added in E, F.

³ well added in E, F.

⁴ themselued (sic) F.

[†] leaf 80. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

or cloak added in F. Terrors, added in E.

aboundance of added in F.

them that will, and to bring them what their lift. Their have their training and libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to sporte, and pastyme themfelues, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what thei will: so that it were better for them to be in prison then forth. Alas, shall we fuffer these sworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Christes Gospell, and holy Religion, to have this freedome amongest vs? This maketh them obstinate, and incorrigible 2: this hardeneth their 3 hartes; and 11 leaf 80, back. this 4 maketh many a Papist moe then would be, if due correction 6 were executed.6 But to returne againe to my former discourse. They are also inconstant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to fwearyng, in fo muche, as if thei speake but three Great swearing or fower wordes, yet must thei needes be interlaced with a bloudie E, F.J othe or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.

(Exercises of land, E, F.]

Spud. Why fir? Is it so greate a matter to sweare? Doeth not the worde of God faie, thou shalt honour me, and sweare by my name, & those that sweare by me shall bee commended? These places and? the like, me thinke, dooe sufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to sweare at all tymes, doe thei not fo?

Philo. Nothing leffe: For you must understand that there be two [Two kinds of maner of swearinges8: the one Godly, the other vngodly: the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly swearyng, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magistrates, and those that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depose a truthe; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuerfie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occasion whatsoeuer, and the truthe (When, and how thereof can not by any meanes possible be sisted out, otherwise then weare. E. F.1 by an othe: then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magistrate, and commaunded uppon thy allegeance to confesse what thou knowest, thou maieft, and oughteft to depose the truthe, by the innocation and [leaf #: R. +] obtestation of the name of God. And in this doyng, thou honourest God. But beware that those things which thou swearest be true, or els thou makest God a lier (whose name thou callest to witnesse)

wearing]

¹ what maintenance F. 1 vnreclaimable F.

[·] leaf 80, lack. How a man ought to sweare. B. punishment F. this not in E. * vppon them added in F.

with E. F. or other added in E. F. and p. 140, 142, 144. † leaf 81. Swearyng forbidden by God. B.

132 Swearing forbidden by God. The Anatomic

[This page not in A.]
[The daunger of a false othe. E, F.]

[A wicked kind of swearing. E, F.] [thou desirest hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thyfelf, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and
damnable kinde of swearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and
blaspheme, the facred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for enery
light trifle. This kinde of swearyng is neuer at any tyme vppon no
occation to be vsed; but the counsell of our Sauiour Christ is herein
to be obeyed, who saieth: "Sweare not at all, neither by heauen,
for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestoole:
neither by Jerusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither
shalt thou sweare by an heire of thy head, because thou canst not
make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be
yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay
in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatsoeuer is more then this
commeth of euill." That is, of the Deuill, saieth our Sauiour Christ.

Spud. I perceive by your reasons, that swearing is a thing more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee suffered in a Christian Commonwealth.

[* leaf 8s, back. B.+] [Sundry kinds of othes, with their effectes. E, F.]

Philo. A true othe is daungerous, a false othe 2 is damnable, and no othe is fure. To fweare before a lawfull Iudge, or otherwise privately, for the appealing of controuerlies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true seruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuersies and troubles. But the other kinde of fwearyng in private and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore faieth Salomon: "A man that is given to muche swearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God thall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstandyng this, it is vsed and taken there So that he that can lashe out the bloudiest othes, is coumpted the brauest fellowe: For (saie thei) it is a signe of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generoseous, heroicall, and puiffant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Iudgementes will not, or for want of practice cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Dastard, a Cowarde, an Asse, a Pesant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vse whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, bloud, sides, harte, † leaf 81, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B. 1 thine F.

[Swearing taken for a vertue in England E, F.] [nailes, foote, or fome other parte of Christes blessed bodie,1 yea, [This page and fometymes no parte thereof thalbe left vntorne of these bloudie Villaines. And to sweare by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Ihon, 2 by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or [* leaf \$4. B.*] by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothing blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afresh, as the Apostle faieth, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltie of his Death, Passion, and Bloud-sheddyng, as euer was Iudas that betrayed hym, or the cursed lewes that crucified hym) to vnderstande, that to sweare by God at every woorde, is the greatest othe that can bee. For in fwearing by God, thou fwearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghoft, and by all the whole divine Nature, Power, dicitie,3 and effence. When thou swearest by Gods harte, thou swearest by his mitticall wisedome. When thou swearest by his bloud, thou swearest by his life. When thou swearest by his Mor descreens feete, thou swearest by his humanitie. When thou swearest by his anything E, E. armes, thou swearest by his power. When thou swearest by his finger, or tung, thou swearest by the holie Spirite. fwearest by his nosethrells, thou swearest by his inspirations. When thou swearest by his eyes, thou swearest by his prouidence. Therfore, learne this, and beware of fwearyng, you bloudie Butchers, least God destroye you in his wrathe. And if you sweare by the Worlde, by S. To weare by Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer idolatrie E] God made, whatfoeuer it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable in it felf. For if it were lawfull to sweare at every ! leaf to, back woorde for every trifle, yet it were better to fweare by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatfocuer. Because, that, that a man sweareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, callyng hym? to witnesse, that, that thyng which he speaketh is true. All which thinges duely considered, I am fully perswaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then to fweare an othe. And yet fwearyng is of fuche finall moment in Ailgna, as I heare fay (and I feare me too true), there are many that False sweaters in England for moory. It, F. J.

Not lawfull to creature. E. F.]

1 sworne by, added in E. F. · leaf 82. Horrible swearing in Ailgna. It. + leaf S2, back. False Swearers for money in Ail: Il. Deity F. a each E. F. which in E. F. 1 it E. F. •- for money in England F.

[This page not [A Fi

[for money will not sticke to sweare any thing, though neuer fo false, and are wel enough knowne, and differend from others by the name of Jurers: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naie, plaine ¹denegers of ¹ the faithe, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was ² there ever any Deuilles that would abdicate 3 themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for filthy drosse and muck of the world? wee fuffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not punishe it? God graunt there maie some Lawe be enacted for the suppression of the For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any 5 man for fwearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blaspheme bothe Heauen and Earth neuer so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe filence, for if thei doe, 6 thei will be readie to laie their Daggers vppon7 their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of fwearing is fuffered still to remaine without al controlement, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

[Swearers are very Devils.]

[A lawe for swearers, E. F.] [6 leaf 83. B.+]

> Spud. What kinde of punishment would you have appointed for these notorious bloudy swearers.

Punishment due for swearers. E, F.]

Philo. I would wishe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whofoeuer blasphemed the Lord, was prefently floned to deathe, without all remorce, which law judiciall standeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee judged too feuere, I would wishe they might haue a peece of their tongues cut of, or loofe fome ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be feared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with some pretie⁸ pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too strict, that thei might bee banished their native Countrie, committed to perpetuall prison, or els to bee whipped, or at least, forfaite for every othe, a certaine somme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paied. If any of these Godly Inflitutions were executed feuerely, I doubt not, but all curfed fwearing would vanish away like 9 smoke. Then should God be 10 glorified,

² Were F. 1-1 reprobates concerning F. 4 not to E. F. 3 and abandone added in E, F. a in E, F. † leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B. · like a F.

⁷ on E, F. * pretie not in F.

¹⁰ to be F.

[and our Consciences made 1 cleane against the 2 greate 2 fearfull daie of 1744 page and the Lorde appeare.

A A le leaf 63 back.

Soud. If fwearing and blaspheming of God's name be so hainous a finne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the viers therof with some notable punishment,4 whereof I praie you shew me some examples.

God, executed vppon these cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages : but

booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie

Philo. I could shewe most straunge and fearfull judgementes of [God's judgm

for brenite fake, one or two shall suffice. There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse [Lincolnshire in I my felf penned about two yeares agoe, referring you to the faid

Swearer: His common othe was by 'God's bloud.' The Lorde will- 14 most fearefull yng his conversion, chastised him with sicknesse many times to leave the fame, and moued others ever to admonish him of his wickednesse: E. F.] († gods in but all chaftisementes and louyng corrections of the Lorde, al freendly

example of God ! wrath shewed

admonitions, and exhortations 7 of others, he vtterly contemned, ftil persevering in his bloudie kinde of swearyng. Then the Lord, seing that nothing would preuaile to winne him, arefled hym with his Sargeant Death: Who, with speede laied holde on hym, and cast hym vppon his Death bed, where he languished a great while, in extreeme (Death, the miserie, not forgettyng to spewe out his olde vomite of Swearyng. cuttoner. B, F.] At the last, the people perceiuing his ende to approach, 8 caused the [8 leaf 84 B.1] Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, rushed vp in his bed A most dread-

There was also an other, whom I knewe my self for a dozen or fixteene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichsseheshire,11 in a Towne

with that, his bloud gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, fome at his wriftes, fome at his nofe and mouth, fome at one joint of his body, some at an other, neuer ceasing till all the bloud of his bodie was stremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie Swearer his mortall 10 life, whose Judgement I leave to the Lord.

kepte E; kept F. · leaf 83, back. Examples against swearyng. B. and added in E. F.

in all ages added in F. 1 Lincolneshire F. in verse added in F. cahortation F.

[!] leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E Aur.: A most dreadfull end of a sweater.

^{*} in F. 10 cursed F. 11 Cheshire E, F.

136 The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. The Anatomie

[This Ange, to l. 21, not in A.] [Congleton in Cheshire.]

(The fearefull death of another swearer, E, F.)

[4 leaf 84, back, B.1] [London.] [The example of a woman for-swearing her selfe. E, F.]

called Notelgnoc, whose viuall and common oth was euer to sweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but still wranckled 2 and festered from daie to daie, and at the last so rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himfelf through anguish and paine thereof dyed thortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the fame thinges wherein thei had offended, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offended through fwearyng by his bloud, fo the Lorde punished hym with bloud. And as the other offended in fwearyng by his armes, fo the Lorde plagued hym in his arme alfo. As he punished 8 the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offended in the fame by taftyng of delicate 4meates. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol⁵ in Ailgna, who, commyng into a shoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forfware her felf; and the excrementes whiche naturally should evacuate downewarde, came forthe at her mouthe, and the dyed miterablie. With infinite 7 like exampled 8 of God's wrath and heavie iudgementes, executed vppon this wicked broode of Swearers, whiche if I had tyme and leasure, I could rehearse. But contentyng my felf to have faied thus muche, I will proceede to other matters no leffe needefull to be handled.]

Spud. Having (by the grace of Christe) hytherto spoken of sundrie Abuses of that countrie, let vs proceed a little surther. howe doe they sanctifie 9 and keepe the Sabbaoth day? In godly Christian exercises, or els in prophane pastimes and pleasures?

The Maner of fanctifiyng the Sabaoth in Ailgna.

Philo

The Sabaoth day, of fome is well fanctified, 10 namely in hearing the 11 Word of God read, preached, and interpreted in privat and publique Prayers; in finging of Godly Pfalmes, in celebrating the facra-

- ¹ Congleton F. ² ranckled F. ³ puninished (sic) F. † leaf 84, back. The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna, B.
- ⁵ London F. ⁶ haue discended F. ⁷ the added in E, F. ⁸ examples in F. ⁹ sanctisie A.
- 10 santified A; observed E; observed, as F. 11 the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for the poore & indigent; 1 which are the true (1 L a, back A.) vses and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other forme fpend 2the Sabaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of baudie (* leaf 85 B.+) Stage-playes and cuterludes, in maintaining Lords of mif-rule (for fo they call a certaine kinde of play which they vie), 3 May-games, Church-ales, feaths, and wakeeffes: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, card- Prophane ing, bowling, tenniffe playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawk- the Sabaoth ing, hunting, and fuch like; In keeping of Faires and markets on the [Faire, footballfabaoth; In keeping Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and fuch other profasities other deuilith pastimes; breading of lacinious and wanton bookes, day. and an infinit number of fuch like practifes and prophane exercifes vsed vppon that day, wherby the Lord God is dithonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his facraments contemned, and his People merueloufly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes, Lord, remoone these exercises from thy Salaoti 16

Spud. You wil be deemed too too Stoicall, if you thould restrain men from these exercises upon the Sabaoth; for they suppose that that day? was ordained and confecrate to that end and purpose, only to vie what kinde of exercites they think good themselues: & was it not fo?

Phi. After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therin contained, in 8 fix dayes, in the feuenth day he refled (1 L > A.) from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from governing them) and therefore hee commaunded that the feuenth day thould be ordained kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 18 10 back 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount Horeb to Moyfes, & in him to all 10 the Children of Ifrael, faying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the feuenth day, &c. If we must keep it holy, then must we not spend it in such vain exercises as please ourselves, but in such godly exercises as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my judgement) the Lord our God ordained the fenenth day to be kept holy for foure causes

in added in E. . leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. 4 keepyng of B, E, F. - not in B. E. F.

[?] is a day of liberty, and added in F. + leaf 85, back. The Institution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.) 10 call E. F.

138 Violaters of the Sab[oth] punished. The Anatomie.

Wherfore the Sabsoth was instituted.

especially. First, to put vs in minde of his wunderful woorkmanship & creation of the world and creatures besides. Secondly, that his woord (the Church affembling togither) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his facraments ministred finceerly, according to the prescript of his woord, & that suffrages 2 & praiers, bothe privat & publique, might be offered to his excellent Maiestie. Thirdly, for that eucry christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might the better fustain the trauailes of the week to enfue3; and also to the end that all beasts & cattel, which the Lord [4 L 3, back. A.] hath made for mans vie, as helps & 4 adjuments 5 vnto him in his daylie affaires & businesse, might rest and refresh them selves, the better to ⁶go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, fine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam: Without fome rest or repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue Fourthly, to thend it might be a typical figure or fignitor 7 to point 8 (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher 9 foorth 10 and shadowe10 vnto vs that bleffed rest & thryse happie ioye which the faithfull shall possessive after the day of judgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherfore, feeing the Sabaoth was instituted for these causes, 11 it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly pastymes, and vaine pleasures of the slesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and detefte.

[The 4th cause for the Sabbath.]

[6 leaf 86, B.+]

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few fmall flickes ypon the Sabaoth, was stoned to death by the commaundement of God from 12 the Theator of Heauen.

Punishment for violating the sabaoth

> Than, if he were stoned for gathering a few sticks vppon the Sabaoth day, which in some cases might be 13 for necessities sake, and 14 did it but once, what shall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue them-felues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt both 15 of the Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they have played the lazie lurdens al the

Violaters of the saboth.

[15 L 4 A.]

14 and yet E, F.

13 lawfull added in F.

³ orisons added in E, F. and all other his B, E, F. supportes F. 5 following (for to ensue) E, F. † leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth punished. B. 7 vnto vs added in F. s poynt out F. 10_10 not in B, E, F. ⁸ discipher F. 11 and to these endes added in B, E, F. 12 soundyng from B. E. F.

weke before, yet that day of fet purpose they wil toile 1 and labour, in [1 leaf 56, back. contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be fure, as he that gathered stickes vpon the Sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the fame, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

set it on the tables the day befor. They go not aboue ij. miles vpon the fabaoth day; they 3 fuffer not the body of any 4 Malefactor to hang vppon the gallowes vppon the Sabaoth day, with legions of fuch like fupersticions. [5 And whiche is most straunge, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not fuffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chaunced that a [The English certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna,6 by greate7 cafualtie fell into a Priule yppon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeuouryng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chofing rather to dye in that filthie stincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.⁵] Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too scrupelous,8 and overshoot the marke, so we are therin plaine contempteous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so strait laced, that I would have no kinde of worke [leaf 87. B. 1] done uppon that daye, if prefent necessitie of the thing require it (for No work to be Christe hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for sabaoth es-

The lewes are verye strict in keeping their Sabaoths; in so muche The lewes as they will not dreffe their meats and drinks uppon the same day, but keep

> ew who died in a privy, rather

the Sabaoth,) but not for euery light trifle, which may as well be inforce it.

another 12 day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we 13 become ("L4, back A)

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a Father; for els we spit against heauen, we striue against the stream,
            · leaf 86, back. Strict observation of the Sabaoth. B.
        1 keepyng of B, E; keeping the F.
                                                            2 the F.
      any felone or B, E, F.
                                                   added in B, E, F.
                             greate not in F.
      * England E, F.
                                                     · supersticious F.
    † leaf 87. The true vse of the Sabaoth, B.
                                                     10 very not in E, F.
   11 originall not in F.
                             13 we wil B, E, F.
                                                     14 all times B, E, F.
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done other dayes as vpon that day. And although the day it felf, in respect of the very 10 nature and original 11 theros, be no better than

temporizers, all 14 beeing alike good; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be fanctified & kept holy to him felf, let vs (like obedient & obsequious Children) submit our selves to so looning

140 Stage-playes and Enterludes. The Anatomie

and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil afke me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth confist in outward abflaining from bodilye labour and trauaile? I answere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Ceremonie of the day,) consisteth, as I have said, in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as seales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and private prayer, in thanksgiving to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes, and breesly, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, were must abstain from the one to attend vpon the other: that is, were must refrain all bodily labours, to the end that were may the better be resiant at these spirituall exercises vppon the Sabaoth day.

Wherin the true vse of the Sabaoth consisteth,

[* leaf 87, back. B.*]

[4 L 5. A

⁴This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

[The abuses whereby the Sabbath is profaned.] Spud. Having shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularlye, wherby the Saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first to begin with stage playes and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne?

Of Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.

Philo.

[Plays on religious subjects are sacrilegious.] ALL Stage-playes, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuyne or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therin, and not scoffingly, slowtingly, & iybingly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence, 6 worship, or veneration 7 to 8 the same. 9 the word of

[6 leaf 83, B.+]

- leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B. ² refrain from B, E. ³ aboute B, E, F. ⁶ Of not in E, F.
- † leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B. 7 honour F.

 at all doen to B, E, F.

 For it is most certaine added in B, E, F.

our Saluation, the price of Christ his bloud, & the merits of his passion, were not given to 1 be derided and iested at, 2 as they be in these filthie 1 L & back. A) playes and enterluds on stages & scatfolds,3 or to be mixt and inter- of the word of laced with bawdry,3 wanton thewes, & vncomely gestures, as is vsed player (euery Man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes.4 In the first of Ihon we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: Wherfore, who fo euer abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds, abuseth the Maietly of Gop in the same, maketh a mocking flock of him, & purchaseth to himselfe eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the facred word of Gop, and God himselfe, is neuer to be thought of, or once anstred, but with great Reservace to feare, reuerence, and obedience to the fame. All the holy companie God due. of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other powers whatfoeuer, yea, the Deuills themselues (as? James saith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the prefence of his wrath: and doo these Mockers and Flowters of his Maiesty, these disfembling Hipocrites, and flattering Gnatoes, think to escape vnpunished? beware, therfore, you masking Players, you painted sepulchres, A warning you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computifies, east your accompts before, what wil be the reward therof [1] of 88, back. in the end, least God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his 10 people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not [10 L & A.] his bleffed word with fuch prophane vanities. For at no 11 hand it is Not harfull to not lawfull to mixt fcurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with fcur-dinguistre with rilitie.

Players.

Theopompus mingled Moyfes law with his writinges, and therfore the Lord stroke him madd. Theodicles began the same practise, but the Lorde stroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting 12 the like deuyles, were al ouerthrowne, and died miferably: befids, what is their judgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other fide, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend What if playes they to the dithonor of God, and norithing of vice, both which matter.

²⁻³ not in B, E, F. scurrility added in F. wpon stages and scaffoldes made for that purpose, added in B, E, F. to be added in F. other Ceraphicall B, E, F. · warming A. 1 as Sainct B, E, F. † leaf 88, back. Plales and Enterludes vnlawfull. B,

¹¹ any F. 11 attempting A.

Playes and Enterluds vnlawfull. The Anatomie

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and fucked out of the Deuills teates to nourith vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and finne. And therfore they, cariying the note, or 1 brand, of 2 God his 2 curse vppon their backs, which way focuer they goe, are to be hiffed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they wil have Christ to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that ever any good Men, from the beginning, haue refifted 3 Playes and Enterluds?

⁴ Philo. Not onely the word of God doth ouerthrow them, addiudg-

(* leaf 89. B.*) [3 L 6, back. A.]

The word of God, al Writers, counsels and Fathers haue writ? against playes and enterluds ing them & the main stainers of them to Hell, but also all holie counsels, and finodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, together with all Writers, both diuyne and prophane, euer fince the beginning, haue disalowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The learned Father Tertullian, in his booke de Speculo, faith that playes were confecrat to that false ydoll Bacchus, for that he is faid to haue found out and invented strong drinke.

Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei, faith that plaies were ordeined by the Deuill, and confecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in an other place, Pecunias Histrionibus dare vitium est innane,8 non virtus: To gine money to Players is a greeuous fin.9

Chrisostome calleth those playes festa Sathani, feasts of the Deuill. Lactantius, an ancient learned Father, faith, Histrionum impudissimi gestus, nihil aliud nisi Libidinem mouent: The shamelesse gestures of Plaiers ferue to nothing fo much as to move the flesh to lust and vnclennesse. And therfore in the .30. Counsell of Carthage & 10 Synode

of Landicea, it was decreed that no Christen Man or Woman should reforte to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie, 11 feurrilitie, and whordome maintained. Scipio, feeing the Romaines

and E, F.

bente 12 to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehorted them from it 2-2 Gods F.

3 disliked F.

 leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B. 6 practisers E. F.

7 haue writ not in E, F.

• immane B, E, F.

and no vertue added in B, E, F.

10 in the added in B, E, F.

+ leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

Wherfore playes were ordeined.

Concilium 3. Cartha. Cap. II. Synode Laodicea, Cap. 54.

[18 leaf 89, back. F. +1 [12 L 7. A.]

with the 1 most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. Valerius Writers 1 both Maximus faith, playes were neuer brought vp fine regni rubore, without shame to the Cuntrey. Arift. debarreth youth accelle to Playes and Enterlad & Enterluds, least they, seeking to quench the thirst of Venus, doo quench it with a potle of fire. Augustus banished Ouid for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and fuch other amorous trumperie.

brobpane

Constantius ordeined that no Player shold be admitted to the table of the Lord. 'Than, feeing that Playes were first's invented The ends of by the Deuil, practifed by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat to their Enterluda false ydols, Goddes and Goddesles, as the howse, stage, and apparell to Venus, the muficke to Appollo, the penning to Minerua and the Muses, the action and pronuntiation to Mercurie and the rest, it is more than manifest that they are no fit exercyses for a 5 Christen 6 Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them faue this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, injurie, incest, The argomurther, & fuch like, the Persons or Actors are Goddes, Goddesses, tragedies. Furies, Fyends, Hagges, Kings, Queesnes, or Potentates. Of Com- 19 leaf on 18.19 medies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, The ground of whordome, adulterie; the Perofons, or agents, whores, queaues, bawdes, [P. L.7, back. A.] scullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with fuch like of infinit varietie. If, I say, there were nothing els but this, it were fufficient to withdraw a good christian from the ving of them; For fo often as they goe to those howses where Players Theaters an frequent, thei go to Venus pallace, & fathans fynagogue, to worthip nus pallaces. deuils, & betray Christ Iesus.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I have hard 10 some hold opinion that they be as good as fermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blatphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes comparable to

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1 the not in B, E, F.
I first not in E, F.
                              4 dedicated F.
        4 men B, E, F.
   † leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. R.
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Waiters F. a not in B, E, F. is not in E. 10 heard F.

1 'The Theatre' (where Shakspere probably first acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the site of the present Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as 'The Globe' on Bankside, Southwark, in 1599. 'The Curtain' theatre was close by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Gloucester St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577.-F. J. F.

144

enterluds comparable to the word of God, the foode of life, and life it felfe? It is all one, as if they had faid, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, feurrilitie, and diuelrie it felf, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipolent 1 with the Lord.

He is cursed that saith playes and enterluds are comparable to SCETTLONS. (* leaf 90, back. [L & A.]

Wherfore so many flock to see playes and enterluds.

The fruits of theathers 6 & playes.

The Godly 7 demeanoures vsed at playes & enterluds. [8 leaf 91. B.+] [9 L 8, back. A.]

The Lord our God hath ordeined his bleffed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with the other? If he be accurfed that calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falfehood, & falthood 2truth, fweet fowre, and fowr fweete, than, a fortiori, is he accurred that faith that playes & enterluds be equivalent with Sermons. Be3 fides this, there is no mischief which these plaies maintain not. For do they not norith ydlenes? and otia dant vitia, ydlenes 5 is the Mother of 5 vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and fermons? for you shall have them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when the church of God shalbe bare & emptie; And those that will never come at fermons wil flow thither apace. The reason is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobat is many; the way that leadeth to life is narow, and few tread that path; the way that leadeth to death is brod, & many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Saujour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exercyses they go to visite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, infinuat folery, & renue the remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not induce whordom & vnclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maydenly virginitie and chaftitie? For proofe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to fee Playes and Enterludes; where fuch wanton geftures, fuch 8 bawdie speaches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, fuch clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like, is vied, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done, 10 euery mate forts to his

¹ equivalent F. · leaf 90, back. The fruittes of Playes. B. 4 Playes B, E, F. 5-5 doth minister F. 6 Theaters F. 7 goodly F. 10 ended E, F. † leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.

mate, every one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their fecret conclaues (couertly) they play the Sodomits, or worse. And these be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part. And wheras you say there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie fo there are: if you will learne falthood; if The goodly you will learn cosenage; if you will learn to deceive; if you will Player and learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,1 and falfifie; if you will learn to ieft, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to playe the vice, to fwear, teare, and blaspheme 2 both Heauen and ('blaspleme A) Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuer- What things ginat Mayds, to deflour honest Wyues: if you will learne to murther, lemed at flaie,3 kill, picke, fleal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel against Princes, to commit treasons,4 to consume 5 treasurs, to practife ydlenes, to fing and talke of bawdie loue and venery: if you will lerne to deride, fcoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & fmooth: If you will learn to play the whore-maifter, the glutton, Drunkard, or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, haw tie, & arrogant; and, Theater finally, if you will learne to contemne Gon and al his lawes, to care Seminaries of 8 neither for heauen nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and mifcheef, you need to goe to no other schoole, for all these good Ex- [6 leaf 91, back. amples may you fee painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: [8 M t. A.] wherfore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them must needs incurre the 9 damage 10 of 11 premunire, that is, 9 eternall dam- A dyaine nation, except they 12 repent. For the Apostle biddeth vs beware, least wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, & 13 maintain cuil to the What it is to diffruction of them felues & many others, but also a maintaining 14 of a with other great forte of idle lubbers, and 15 buzzing dronets, to 15 fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees should live.

playes

tion to placers.

Therfore I befeech all players 16 & Founders 16 of plaies and enter. An exhortsludes, in the bowels of Iefus Christe, as they tender the faluation of their

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" flay F.
                                      4 Treason F.
1 to lye B, E, F.
                                                          omsume A.
          † leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of mischeefe. B.
      1 comtempe A.
                                     ineuitable sentence of F.
      10 daunger B, E.
                                       11 of a B; of the denine E.
                     13 and to B. E. F.
                                                 14 supporting B, E, F.
             15 laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E.
                14 _18 founders and maintainers B, E, F.
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BHARSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.

146 Lords of misrule in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

foules, and others, to leave of that curfed kind of life, and give them felues to fuch honest exercises and godly misteries as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their liuings withall: for who wil call him a wifeman, that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Christian, who playeth the part of a deuil, the sworne enemie of Christe? who can call him a just man, that playeth the ¹part of a diffembling hipocrite? And, to be breef, ²who can call him a straight deling man, who playeth a Cosoners trick⁸? And so of all the rest. Away therfore with this so infamous an art! for goe they neuer so braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? line they not vpon begging of enery one that comes? Are they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speak of such as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought fo to be punished, if they had their deferts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the last, I wil say no more of them, beseeching them to consider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heavie displeasure against them selves and others; which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!

Spud. Of what forte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it felf ⁵ caryeth a tafte of ⁵ fome notorious ⁶ euil.

Lords of Mif-rule in Ailgna.

Philo.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna, [7 M 2. A.]

[9 leaf 92, back, B.†] THE name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, & fuch as the very heathen people would have blushed at once to ⁷ have named amongst them. And if the name importeth some euil, 8 then, what may the thing 9 it self be, iudge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil showe you as I have seen them

• leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

3 part F.

4 And are F.

5—5 importeth B, E, F.

6 as you say added in F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

The ignomy due to Players.

[1 leaf 92, H.*]

[2 M 1, back, A.]

Players line vpon begging.

Players counted Rogues by the lawes of the Realm. practifed my felf. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conventing 1 togither, chuse them a Graund 2-Captain (of all 3 mischeese) whome they Murals we innoble with the title of 'my Lord of Mis-rule', and him they crowne played. with great folemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chuseth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttes, like to him felf, to waighte vppon his lordly Maiestie, and to guarde his noble person. Then, eueric one of these his men, he inuesteth with his liueries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should fay, they bedecke them felues with fearfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer with golde rings, precious stones, & other iewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx. or xl. bels, with rich handkercheiß in their hands, and The fometimes laid a croffe over their shoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopsies & loouing Betles 5, for butling them in the dark. Thus al things fet in order, then have they their Hobbyhorses,6 dragons & other Antiques, togither with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike Typ the deuils daunce withall. The rables then, marche these heathen company towards the Church and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their 1 lost p. back A flumps dauncing, their bels lyngling, their handkerchefs fwinging 10 about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters fkirmishing amongst the route 11: & in this forte they go to the band in the Church 12 (1 fay) & into the Church, 12 (though the Minister be at praier or preaching), dancing & fwinging [t]heir handkercheifs 13 ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, with fuch a confuse 14 noise, that no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolith people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they sleer, & mount upon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solem[ni]zed in this fort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, & so foorth Receptacles in into the church-yard, where they have commonly their Sommer-haules, their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houses set up, wherin they feast, death agents. banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the 15 night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

ow Lords of ward to be

us attyring of

guard. [M s, back. A.]

The behaviour of the Deuilla temple of God.

the Cemiteries or church ords for the

```
all not in F.
  1 flocking F.
                            Ground E.
4 handkerchiefe F.
                             Bessies F.
                                                   their added in F.
. this F.
                       t leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule, B.
10 fluttering F.
                      11 throng B, E, F.
                                               11-11 not in B. E. F.
18 handkechiefes F.
                             14 confused B, E, F.
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148 The L. of mifrules cognisance. The Anatomie

¹They have also certain papers, wherin is painted some babblerie

My Lord of mis-rules cognizances.

[5 M 3. A.]
[6 leaf 93, back
[1, •]

Wearing my Lord of misrules badges,

or other of Imagery woork, & these they call 'my Lord of mis-rules badges2': thefe they give to every one that wil give3 money for them to maintaine them in 4 their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunken-⁵ nes, pride, and ⁶ what not. ⁷ And who will not be ⁸ buxom to them, and give them 9 money for these 10 their deuilfilsh 10 cognizances, they are 11 mocked & flouted at 13 13 not a little. 13 14 And fo afford 16 are fome, that they not only give them monie to maintain their abhomination withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are 16 badges, seales, brands, & cognizances of the deuil, whereby he knoweth his Seruants and Clyents 17 from the Children of God; And fo long as they weare them, Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem fuam: they fight under the banner and standerd of the deuil against Christ Iefus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantasticall fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of mis-rule and his complices) some bread, fome good-ale, fome new-cheese, some olde,18 some custards, 19 & fine cakes 19; fome one thing, fome another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing 20 to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer facrifice to the deuil and fathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; which God graunt they may!

Sacrifice brought to this filthie Ydol, my L. of mis-rule.

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the fabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more peftilent then peftilence it felf. but what? be there any ²¹ abuses in their May-games like vnto these?

[23 leaf 94. B.†] [23 M 3, back. A.]

22 23 Philo. As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

¹ Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should saie) added in B, E, F.

² or Cognizances added in F.

³ give them F.

⁴ in this B, E, F.

* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

⁷ els added in F. ⁸ shewe hym self B, E, F. ⁹ them not in F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ the deuilles B, E, F. ¹¹ shall be B, E, F. ¹² at not in F. ¹³—¹³ shamefully B, E, F.

Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horriblie abused added in F.
 are the B, E, F.
 vassals F.
 olde cheese B, E, F.

19—19 some cakes, some flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, E, F (but F begins with some Cracknels.)

20 thing not in B, E, F.

† leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

22 B, E, F make a fresh chapter here, with the heading: - The maner of Maiegames in England.

Against May 1, Whitforday, or 2 other time, 3 all the yung men and maides, olde men and wives, run gadding over night to the woods, The order of groues,3 hils, & mountains,4 where they fpend all the night in plefant games. passimes; & in the morning they return, bringing with them birch 5 & branches of trees, to deck their affemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, 1° ide prince of hel. But the cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They have twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, every Oxe having A great Lord a fweet nofe-gay of flouers placed on the tip of his hornes; and thefe Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this flinking Ydol, rather) which is theref. couered all ouer with floures and hearbs, 10 bound round about with [10 back back. strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime 11 painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, The manner following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with home their handkercheefs and flags houering 12 on the top, they straw the ground rounde 13 about, binde green boughes about it, fet vp fommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to 14 daunce about it, like 15 as the 16 heathen people did at the dedication of the 17 Idols, [14 M & A] wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it felf. I have May-poles a heard it credibly reported (and that viua voce) by men of great granitie 18 hethen Ydola and reputation, that of fortie, threefcore, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there have scarefly the third part of them returned home againe vindefiled. These be the frutes which these The strute of curfed pastimes bring foorth. 19 Neither the 20 Iewes, the 21 Turcks,

1 day added in F. or some B, E, F.

of the years, every Parishe, Towns, and Village assemble themselves together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselues into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the B, E, F.

4 some to one place, some to another, added in B. E. F.

bowes added in B, E, F. their B, E, F. . May not in F. • tyed E, F.

t leaf 94, back. The fruittes of Maie games, B.

11 sometimes F. 12 streaming B, E, F. 11 round not in B, E.

14 banquet and feast, to leape and added in B, E, F. 17 their B. E. F.

16 like not in B, E, F. 10 credite added in F. 1) Assuredly I thinke added in B. E. F. the not in B, E, F. 11 nor B, E, F.

Sarafins, nor Pagans, nor any other nations, how wicked or barbarous focuer, have cuer vied fuch deuilish exercises as these; nay, they would have been athamed once to have named them, much leffe have 2 yfed them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse. The Lord forgine vs, and remoone them3 from vs!

Spud. What is the manner of their church ales, which you fay they vie; for they feem vn4couth and straunge to mine eares? [4 leaf 95 B.*]

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

[5 M 4, back, A.]

The manner of Church-ales in Ailg(na).

5 Philoponus.

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken Bachus beares all6 the fway, against a7 Christmas, an8 Easter, Whitfonday, or some other time, the Church-wardens (for so they call them) of every parith, with the confent of the whole Parith, provide half a fcore or twenty quarters of mault, wherof fome they buy of the Church-stock, and some is given them of the Parishioners them selues, euery one conferring fornewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very strong ale or beere, it 9 is set to fale, either in the Church, or 10 some other place assigned to that purpose.

Then, when the 11 Nippitatum, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this nectar of lyfe, is fet abroche, wel is he that can get the foonest to it, and spend the most at it; for he that sitteth the closest to it, and fpends the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest 12; but who either 13 cannot, 14 for pinching pouertie, 14 or otherwise, 15 wil not flick to it, he is counted one deflitute bothe of vertue and godlynes. In fo much as you shall have many poor men make hard shift for (16 leaf 95, back. money to fpend ther 16at, 17 for it 18 beeing put into this Corban, they are perswaded it is meritorious, & a good service to God. In this kinde of

The filthiest beast, the godlyest man.

B.11

1 people B, E, F. 2 to haue B, E. 3 them farre F. · leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B. 6 all not in B; all the not in E, F. a not in B, E, F. and B, E, F. o it not in B, E, F. 10 or in F. 11 this B, E, F. 12 and most in Gods fauour, because it is spent vpon his Church forsoth added 13 either for want B, E, F. 14_14 not in B, E, F. in B, E, F. 15 for feare of God's wrath added in E, F.

† leaf 95, back. Churchale money bestowed. B. 18 it not in B, E, F. 17 and good reason added in B, E, F.

practife they continue fix weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer togither, fwilling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke (' M s A) as Apes,2 and as 3 blockish as beafts.3

Spud. Seeing they have so good vtterance, it should seeme they haue good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

Philo. Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they fay: For they repaire their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookes for service, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, surpletses for Sir Ihon, and fuch other necessaries; And they maintaine other How the extraordinarie charges in the a parishes befydes. These be their bexceptions, these be their excuses, and these be their pretended allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conucigh themselves away in uifibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

money is spent which is got by

For if it wer so that they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will have his howse build with drunkennesse, gluttony, and fuch like abhomination? Must we do euill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stone with the desolation Withhe Land and atter overthrow of his spirituall howse, oclensed and washed in bank with the preciouse blood of our Saujour Iesus Christ? But who seeth not of easis? that they bestow this money upon nothing lesse than in building and (10 leaf od 18 1) repayring of Churches 10 and Oratories? For in most places lye they 170 M s. back. not like fwyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall 11 downe, the 12 roofe all bare, and what not out of order? Who feeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn, 13 The decay of couered in dust, so as this Epitaphe may be writ with ones finger which are lacervppon it, ecce nunc in puluere dormio? (Alas!) behold I fleep in dust torn. and oblyuion, not once fearfe looked vppon, much leffe red vpon,16 and the 15 least of all preached vppon. And, on the other side, who feeth not (for 16 this I speak but 17 in way of parenthefis 17) in the meane Samplesoner

of their owns

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"-" mad as March Hares F.
Rattes B, E; Swine F.
                         s_ golden reasons, these bee their faire B, E, F.
4 their B, F, F.
      • pretensed B, E.
                                                      1 builded F.
† leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B.
                                                  purchased with F.
II fallen B.
              12 their B, E, F.
                                    15 yea added in F.
                                                          14 on B. E. F.
      15 the not in F.
                                             18 for not in B, E. F.
               15.-17 to a friend, I pray you say nothing F.
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152 Keeping of wakfes in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

tyme, their owne howses and mansion places are curiously build, and fumpteously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather bestow this drunken got-money vppon prophane vses and their own prinat affaires, than vpon the howse of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may say black is their eye¹: For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they say; And when time commeth, like good accoumptantes, they make their accoumptes as please themselues.

[* the A.]

[leaf of, back.

Sp. Were it not better, & more confonant ⁵ to the truth, that every one contributed ⁴ fomewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of ⁵ templaries & ⁶ oratories, ⁵ than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you fay thei do?

[7 M 6. A.]

Churches 8 are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of euery one after his power.¹⁰ ⁷ Philo. It weare muche better. And so we read, the Fathers of the old Testament, euery one after his abilitie, did impart some-what to the building and restauration of the Tabernacle which Moyses erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was such aboundance of all things, as the Artificers, consulting with Moyses, were glad to request the People to stay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. These People made no drunken Churchales to build their edesice withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable costes. But as their zeel was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, so our zeal is more than frosen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and bestowing it vpon whordom, drunkennesse, gluttony, pride, and such like abhominations: God amend it!

Our real waxen cold and frosen in respect of the real of the former world. Spud. How do they folemnife their feastes and wakesses there; and what order do they observe in them?

The maner of keeping of Wakesses, and feasts in Ailgna.

[12 leaf 97. B.1]

12 Philoponus.

THis is their order therein: euery towne, parishe, and Village, some at one tyme of the Yeere, some at another (but ¹³ so that euery

[13 M 6, back.

leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B.
Temples and Churches F.
or B, E.
or B, E.

6 Churges A. 9—9 and instauration E; not in F. 10 this side-note not in F. 11 house of Prayer F. † leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

1 towne, parish, & village 1 keep 2 his proper day assigned and appropriat to it felf, (which they call their Wak day) vie to make great preparation and ordenaunce for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are inuited, wher is such gluttony, such Saturitie drunkennesse, such faturities and impletion ysed, as the like was neuer watered feen: In so muche as the poore men that beare the charges of these feafts and waketles, are the poorer, and keep the Worfer howfes a long tyme⁶ after. And no marueil, for manie spend more at one of these waketles than in all the whole yeer befides. This makes many a one The great to thripple & pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie Watersen. brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Spud. Wold you not have one freend to visite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I disalowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat day more than at another (except busines vrged it); why should one and the same day continue for ever, or be diffinct from Agrant wakes other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more excesse of meats and drinks at that day than at another ? why thould they abitaine from bodely labor 9.ij. or three dayes after, peraduenture [9 leaf 92, back the whole week, spending it in drunkennesse, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo 10 miticall exercy fes.

100 M 21

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one Freend to vifite another, would you not have them to congratulat their comming with fome good cheer?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of such excesse of ryot & fuperfluitie as is there vsed. I thinke it convenient for one Freend to visite another (at sometimes) as oportunitie & occasion thall 11 offer it Where felfe 11; but wherfore shuld the whole towne, parish, village, and feath do very cuntrey keepe one and the fame day, and make fuch gluttonous featls as they doo? And therfore, 12 to conclude, 13 they are to no end, except it be to draw a great 13 frequencie of whores, drabbes, 14 theines, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

agely tend.

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1_1 one B. E. F.
                       2 keeps F.
                                        3 vseth F.
                                                        • provision E, F.
                                     1 prefixed F.
                   yeare F.
fulnesse F.
                                                        any other E, F,
              † leaf 97, back. The fruittes of Wakesses. Il.
    11_11 bee offered F.
                                       13_13 in my opinion B, E, F.
10 a great not in E, F; frequencie of not in F. 14 drabbes not in B, E, F.
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neffe, thiefte, murther, fwearing, and all kind of mifchief and abhomination; For these be the ends wherto these seastes and wakestes doo tende.¹

Spud. From whence sprang these seasts and wakesses first of all; can you tell?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People, who, whan they were affembled together, and had offred Sacrifices to their wodden² Goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets together before them, in ho³nour and reuerence of them, so⁴ appointed the same yearly to be observed in⁵ memoriall of the same soft euer. But whence ⁷ socuer they had their exordium, secretar it is the deuill was the Father of them, to drown vs in perdition, and destruction of body and soule: which God foresend ¹⁰!

Sp. As I remember, you spoke 11 of dauncing before, inferring that the sabaoth is 12 greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, shew mee your judgement.

The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, vsed in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

DAuncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to 14 whordom, a preparative to wantonnes, a provocative to vncleanes, & an introite 15 to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercyse to the mind, or a holsome practise for the body 16: yet 17, notwithstanding, in Ailg[na] both men, wemen, & children, are so skilful in this laudable science, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to Cynædus, the 18 prossitut ribauld, nor yet to Sardanapalus, that effeminat varlet. Yea, thei are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing,

Scholes of dauncing erected.

From whence these annuall

wakesses had their begin-

[7 M 7, back]

feasts and

ning.
[1 leaf 98. B.†]

as farre as euer I could iudge added in B, E, F, but E, F, have learne for iudge: F then adds:—& the best fruits that they bring foorth.
false F.
false F.
and so B, E, F.
fand so B, E, F.
false F.
fals

• them for the same B, F, F.
• original F.
• original F.

10 remove farre from vs F.

11 spake B, E, F.

12 was B, E, F.

13 not in F.

14 all kind of added in F.

15 entrance F.

16 (as some list to cal it) added in B, E; (as some would have it). And F.
17 And yet, E.
18 that B, E, F.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble fcience of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people glory of their chriftianitie & integritie of 2 life. Indead, verbo tenus Christiani boni voci- 12 heaf of back. tentur. But vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis peiores? reperientur! From 5 the mouth outward they may be faid to be good Christians, but [5 sign M & A.] in life & maners farre worfer than the heathen or Paganes. Wherof if they repent not & amend, it shalbe easier for that Land of Sodoma and Gomorra, at the day of judgement, then for them.

Spud. I have heard it faid, that dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & also an exercyse for the body, very holsome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

Ph. I will not much denie but being vsed in a meane, in tyme and Dameing a place conveniente, it is a certen folace? to the minds of fuch as take them that pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men vanities. take pleasur in a thing, ergo, it is good, but the contrarie is true rather 8: For this is 9 (bafis 10 veritatis) a ground of 11 truth, 9 that what soeuer a carnall man, with vucircumcifed heart, either defireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other fide, what the spiritual man regenerat, & borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And feeing mans nature is too pro- What allowcliue 13 of it felfe to finne, it hath no need of allurements & allections 13 ments to sin be in danacto 16 fin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints & inhibitions 15 from the [14 leaf 99. It.1] same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kiffing and buffing, what 16 fmouching & flabbering one [14 M & back. A.] of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practifed every wher in these dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chast eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed 17 foorth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp Venus cole or not, who is so blind

1 forsooth added in F.

[·] leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurement to sinne. B.

invenianter B, invenienter E. deteriores F. * the B. E. F.

or recreation added in B, E, F. is rather true B, E, F.

¹⁰ basis et fundamentum B, E. •- a maxime F. 11 or foundation of B, E; E has and for or. 13 prone F.

¹⁹ enticementes F. † leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corrosine. B.

¹⁸ to stay him added in F. 17 shadowed F.

156 Dancing vnholfome for the body. The Anatomie

Dauncing no recreation, but a corrosiue to a good Chris-

The onely thing wherin a good christian doth delight.

[4 leaf 99, back. B.†]

Dancing no holsom exercise for the Bodie.

What loone dancing procureth.

that feeth not? wherfore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abufuely vsed to expresse the loyes or delightes of the mind, which fignifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but rather a corrosine 1 most tharp and nipping. For feing that it is euill in it felf, it is not a thing wherin a Christian Mans heart may take any 2 comfort. The onely 3 fummum bonum, wherin a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Iesus Christ, the essusion of his blood, the remission of sins, and the contemplation of the inestable ioyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Iefus Christ. This is the only thing wherin a Christian man ought to reioyse and take delight in, all other pleasures & delights of this lyfe fet a parte as amarulent and bitter, bringing foorth fruit to eternall destruction, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they [6 sign. N 1. A.] conclude it 5 is a hole forme exercise for the bodie, the contrary is moste true; for I have knowen divers, by 7 the immoderate vse therof, have in fhort time become decrepit and lame, fo remaining to their dying Some haue broke their legs with skipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and fome haue come by one hurt, fome by another, but neuer any came from thence without some parte of his minde broken and lame; such a wholsome exercise it is! But, say they, it induceth looue: fo I fay also; but what looue? Truely, a lustful loue, a venereous looue, a concupifcencious, baudie, & beaftiall looue, fuch as proceedeth from the stinking pump and lothfome fink of carnall affection and fleshly appetite, and not such as distilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the spirit of God.

Wherfore I exhort them, in the bowels of Iefus Christ, to eschue not only from euil, but also from all apperance of euil, as the Apostle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; vntil they growe to 8 perfect men in Christe Iesus, knowing that we must give accounts at the day of 9 judgment of every minut and jote of time, 10 from the day 11 of our birth to the time 12 of our death: for there is nothing more precious then time, which is given vs to glorifie God in 13

any pleasure or F. 3 enely A. 1 corrasiue F. † leaf 99, back. Dauncyng vnholsome for the body. B. 5 that it E, F. 7 that by B, E, F. to bee F. of of F. that is lent us in this life added in E, F. 11 first day B, E, F. 12 last houre B, E, F. 13 by B; in, by E, F. of Abuses. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing.

good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercises 1 after our owne fantafies and delights.

Spud. But I have heard them affirme that dauncing is provable 1 leaf too. R. 1 by the woord of God; for (fay they) did not the women come foorth of all the Cities of Ifrael to meet king Saule? and Dauid, returning 18thle examples from the flaughter of Goliath, with pfalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, 1 Sa 18. and other muficall Instruments, dauncing & leaping before them? Eas 13. Did not the Ifraelites, having passed over the red sea, bring foorth their Instruments, and danced for joy of their deliuerance?

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in Horeb or Sinai? Did not king Dauid daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the Daughter of lephtah daunce with . Sa 6. tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feeld? Did not the women of the Ifraelits dance comming to vifit good Judith ? Iske in. Did not the Damfel dance before King Herod? Did not Christ blame the people for their not dancing when he faid, wee have pyped Mat. 14 vnto you, but you have not daunced?

Saith not Salomon, 'there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a Eccle 3. time to mourne, and a time to daunce?"

And dooth not the Prophet Dauid, in many places of his Psalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing upon Instruments of Mufick?

Wherfore (for thus they conclude) feeing these holy Fathers 13 sign. N s. A.1 (wherof fome were guided by the inflinction of *God his Spisrit) Perf 100, back haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expressed it by 10 their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it?

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for Hominis est errare, decipi et lali: it is naturall for man to No man witherre, to be deceined & to flide from the trueth. Therfore the Apostle bash in 1960 faith, follow mee' in all things as I follow Christ; but to the intent that they, who perpend 11 the Examples of the Fathers and 12 Scripture falfly 19 wrested to maintaine their deuilish dauncings withall, may see their owne impietie & groffe 13 ignorance discouered, I wil compendi-

· leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B. probable E, F. and also king E, F. 4 this E. F. 1 instinct F. Gods F. 10 in B, E, F. † leaf 100, back. None withoute errours. B. 11 pretende E, F. 11-11 Scriptures fasly (nic) F. 13 net in F. . We must ren der accounts lent va [N 1, back]

Loc. 7.

158 Euil examples not to be followed. The Anato[mie] outly fet down the true fence and meaning of every place, as they have

cyted them perticulerly. For the first, wheras they say that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Instruments of Ioy

to meet Dauid and Saule, I aske them for what cause they did so?

1 Sa. 18.
The first pillare of dauncing ouerthrowen.

[* N z, back, A.]

No good consequent to say others did so, ergo it is good, or wee may doo the like.

like.

Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie golten ouer the Philiplines, their fworne Enemies? Was it in prayse of God, or to stirre vp silthie lust in them selues, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? Did men and women daunce togither, as is now vsed to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so saith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither so, nor so, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? it is no good reason to say, such and such did so, therfore it is good, or we may doo so; but all things are to be poysed in the balance of holy scripture, and therby to be allowed or disalowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghost, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The Israelitish women, hearing of the same of Dauid, and how he had killed their deadly enemie Goliath, came footh to meet him,

The difference between the dances of our Forefathers and ours

[8 sign. N 3. A.]

Their second Pillar shaken.

[10 leaf 101, back, B.+] had killed their deadly enemie Goliath, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon instruments, dancing, & singing songs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord, who had given them victorie, and delivered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who sought their distruction every way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiquitarie dauncings,—for so I may call them because they be vsed every where,—let the godly ividge. Who seeth not rather that this example (let Cerberus the dog of hel alatrate what he list to the contrary) clean overthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praise of God; ours, a lustful, baudie kinde of deamenour in praise of our selves: theirs, to shew their inward ioy of minde for the blessings of God bestowed vpon them; ours, to show our activitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure lustful loove and such like wickednes infinit. But to their second allegation: the Children (say they) of Israel danced, being delivered out of the servitude of Pharo, and having passed over the red sea. I graunt

1 against F.
 • leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B.
 4 their God added in F.

5-5 and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.
 6 dauncing F.
 7 blessing F.
 9 they say F.
 † leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

they did so, and good cause they had so to doo; For were they not emancipate 1 and fet free from three great calamities and 2 extreame (Why the miseries2? First, from the seruile bondage of Egipt; from the swoord dasced] of Pharo, who purfued the rereward of their hoste; and from the danger3 of the red sea, their enemies beeing ouer-whelmed in the fame.

For these great and inestimable benefits and blessings, received at the hands of God, they played vpon Instruments of musick, leaped, daunced, and fung godly fongs vnto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures the inward joy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly against them? They danced for iov in thanks to god, How ! wee for valuglorie: they for looue to God, wee for looue of our danced felues: they to thew the interior joy of the minde for 'God his bletfing heaped? vpon them; we to shew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curiofitie in the same; they to stir vp and to make them selves the apter to praise God; we to fiir vp carnall appetites and fleshlie [N] luck Al motions: they to shewe their humilitie before God; and we to thew our pride both before God and the world. But how to ever it be, fure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, confifting in meafures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no fuch leafure in E10gipt 11 to learne such vaine curiosity in that lustfull 12 bawdie schoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this 13 may be called a dauncing or not, at left not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modest leaping, dancing but rather a Gosty skipping or moouing of the body to expresse the ioye of the mind in triangling & prayfe of God; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of beat for bey our Sauiour Christe, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping & praising God.

[" leaf ros. B " Egigt A.] The dauncing of our Forta-

We never read that they ever daunced but at 16 fome wonderfull 15 portent or thraunge judgment 13 of God 14; and therfore made 17 not a common practife of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were; much leffe

¹ delinered F. 1-1 extram (sic) miseries at once F. 1 daungers E. F. thanks-gening E. F. to E, F. 4 sang F. 1—1 Gods blessings bestowed F. . to net in B. E. F.

¹² lustfull not in B, E, F. † leaf 102. A confutation of dauncing. B. 13 they E. F. 14 when E. F. 16-15 great blessing F.

¹⁴ was showed added in E; was bestowed vpon them F. 17 they made F.

Their 3. Reason examined.

fet vp schools of it, and frequenting 1 nothing els night and 2 day, Sabaoth day and other, as we do. But to their third Reason: The Ifraelits danneed before the Calf in Horeb. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therfore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therfore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

[5 sign, N 4. A.]

[7 leaf 102, back. Il.*]

⁵ Adam disobselved Gop, and obeyed the deuil: is obedience therfore to the deuil good, because hee did so?

Therfore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, even to the death. But, to be short, as it is a friuilous thing 6 to fay, because they committed 7 Idolatrie, therfore may wee doo the like, fo it is no leffe ridiculous to fay, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the fame; for as it is not lawful to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

So that if this place inferre 8 any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. 'therfore of this place I need to fay no more, giuing them to note that this their dauncing, in respect of the end therof, was farre dissonant 9 from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.10

Their fourth reason: Did not Dauid daunce before the Ark? say

Their. 4. Reason.

they, very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women togither moste excellentlie; [11 N 4, back, A.] For 11 Dauid danced him felfe alone, without either woman or muficall Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of Dauid was no viuall thing, nor frequented every day, but that one time, and that in prayle of God for the deliuerie 12 of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was fo vehement for this great bleffing of God (fuch [14 leaf 103. B.t] a feruent zeale he bore 13 to 14 the trueth), that it 15 burst foorth into

1 frequented E, F. 2 nor F. nor F. 4 the B. E. * leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reproued. B. 6 reason E, F.

> ⁸ conferre E, F. 10 lawfull F. 12 deliuerance B, E, F. 13 did beare F. † leaf 103. Why Dauid daunced. B. 15 he B, E, F.

9 different F.

1 exterior action, 1 the more to induce others to prayle God also. Would God we would dance, as Dauid daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alfauing woord out of the hands of that Italian Philistin & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of Roome! for in this respect I would make one2 to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and reioyce as Dauid did Why Dauid before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man seeth, that by fore the Ark. this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude⁵ dancings and baudie choruffes, as they did by citing the former places; that is, iuft nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and fee neuer the wurffe.

Their fift reason: Did not leptath his daughter meet her Father, Their 80 Ro when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vppon Instruments of Ioy5? leptath, going foorth to warre against the Amonites, promifed the Lord (making a rathe vowe) that if it would please the Man N , A] his Maiestie to give him victorie ouer his Ennemies, he wold sacrifice the first lyuing thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased Gop that his fole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers profperous return (as the maner of the Cuntrey was), ran foorth to meete her Father, playing vppon instruments in praise of God, and dauncing before him for loye. Now, what prooueth this for their daunces? [7] leaf 103, back. Truely, it ouerthroweth them, 7 if it be well confidered: for first we read that the did this but once, we daylie: She in prayfe of God, we Doughters of fepthath in prayles of our felues: the for ioy of her Fathers good fuccetle, we danced to stere vp filthie and vncleane motions: She with a virginall granitie, we with a babish ! leuitie: she in comly maner, we in bawdie gesture. And, moreouer, this sheweth that women are to daunce by themselues (Each sea mont dance by stolf.) (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themselves; for so importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her collegues or Companions dancing with her.

Wherfore &

Their vi. Reason: Did not the Israelitish wemen daunce before Ther & Reason Iudith, comming to visit her? I graunt they did so: the storie is studish, Ca 15. thus:

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the Israelits, the chosen

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STURBES.

¹⁻¹ outward shew of the same F. 1 my selfe added in F. F. citing not in E. F. 2 lascinious added in F. * musicke F. † leaf 103, back. Jeptha his daughters daunce. B. wanton E, F. * The E, F.

162 How dauncing is vnlawfull. The Anatomie

[N 5, back. A.]

people of God, and intending to overthrowe them, and to blot out their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, affembled a huge power, and befieged them on enery fide.

Indith cutteth of the head of holofernes.

[4 leaf 104. B.*]

The Ifraelits, feeing themselves circumvalled,2 and in great daunger on each fide, fuborned good Iudith, a vert[u]ous, Godlye Woman (for without fome stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vnpossible for them in the eyes of the world to have escaped) to repaire to Holosernes, &, by some meanes or other, to work his destruction: who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it happely to passe. For she cut of his head with his owne fauchine,3 wrap⁴ping his body in the canopie wherin he lay, fleepingly⁵ poffest as he was with the spirit of drunkennesse: this done, the Women of Ifraell came together, and went to vifit this worthie Woman, and to congratulat her prosperous successe with instruments of musick, finging of Godly fongs, and dauncing for joye in honor and prayle to God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who feeth not that thefe women fang, daunced, and played uppon instrumentes in prayse of God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncinges of Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was an infinite number of People by, yet the Text faith, there daunced [6 sign. N 6. A.] 6 none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of it in respecte of Man.7 And this being but a particular fact, of a sort of imprudent 8 Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

The vnlawfullnes of dauncing of men and women together.

A custome to daunce in prayse of God.

It was a custome in those dayes, when God had 9powred foorth9 any notable bleffing vpon his People, from his Heauenly Pallace,10 the People, in honour, praife, and thankefgiuing to God for them, 11 would play uppon their instruments, fing Godly Songs, daunce, leape, skip, and triumphe, shewing foorth the joye of their mindes, with their thankefulnesse to God, by all exteriour gestures that they could deuyse: [19 leaf 104, back. 12 Which kinde of thankefull dauncing, or spirituall reioycing, wold B.1]

³ Faulchone F. 2 about added in B, E; compassed about F. sleepyng B, E, F. · leaf 104. How dauncyng is vnlawfull. B. simple F. 7 men & women together E, F. 10 Consistorie B, E, F. 11 it E, F. "_ bestowed F.

[†] leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

God we did 1 follow, leaving all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quothe they) the Damosell daunce Ther .7. Reason before Kinge Herode, when the head of John Baptift was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye fee the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: For was not this the cause of the beheading of John the Baptift? See whether dauncing flyreth not up luft, and inflameth the mind; For if Herode with feeing her daunce was Dauncing so inflamed in her love, and ravished in her 2 behaviour, that he hist. promifed her to giue her whatfocuer the wold defire, though it were half of his Emperie³ or Kingdome, what wold he haue beene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with buffing and kiffing, flabbering and finearing, most beaftly to behold? in so much as I have beard many impudently fay that they have chosen their Wyues, and wyues their Hutbands, by dauncing; Which plainely proueth the wickedneffe of it.

Their .viij. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not Their t Reason dauncing, faying, 'we have pyped vnto you, but you have not daunced'? Lac. y. They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a Pyper, or a Minstrell, as that he alowed of dauncing, or reproued them for not 1º leaf 105. R.1) exercyfing the fame. This is a Metaphoricall or Allegoricall kinde of fpeach, wherin our Saniour Christ goeth about to reprodue and The more checke the flyfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of hardness of the the Scribes and Pharifeis, who were neither mooned to receive the glad tydings of the Gospell by the austeritie of John the Baptifle, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort, neither yet at the preaching of our Saujour him felfe, breaking vnto them the pure Ambrofia, the Caleflial Manna, the word of life. in loy full and gladfome maner.

[sign. N 7. A.]

Thon the Baptist he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them aufteritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fatt, pray, and fuch like. Our Sauiour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tidyngs of the Gospell, yet at neither of these *kinde* of concions* they were any whit mooued,

would B, E, F. BEmpire B, E, F. I leaf 105. The contumacie of the lewes. B. - not in F. that E, F. "- kinds of preachings F.

164 Salomons spiritual dauncing. The Anatomie

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherfore he sharply rebuketh them by a similitude of soolishe Children, sitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted sence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at less maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing, ² and reioysing of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne judgement), let wyse men determine.

leaf sos, back.

Eccle, 3. Their 9 Reason,

Salomon meaneth a certen kind of a spirituall dauncing or reioy[sling of the heart. [4 N 7, back, A.]

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not Salomon, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce '? This place is directly against their visual kinde of dauncing; For faith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning fomtime, now and than, as the Ifraelites did in prayse to 3 God, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not every daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leaving it, vntil it leave vs. But what and if Salomon speaketh here of a certen kind of spiritual dauncing and rejoysing of the heart in praise to 5 GoD? This is easily gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (vz. there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dance', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to daunce or reioyfe for the vnfpeakable treasures purchased vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lascivious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may fee and6 iudge.

Their vitimum

[7 leaf 106, B.t]

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vuto their vltimum refugium: That is, Doth not Dauid both commend, and also commande, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in 7 diverse of his Psal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart to 8 the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes, 9 skip like goats, 10 & leap like

¹ rebuked F.
2 of B, E, F.
3 of B, E, F.
4 leaf 106. Why our feete were given vs. B.
5 Goates F.
6 leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.
6 and A.
6 in B, E, F.
10 Does F.

mad men: For to the end our feet were not given vs, but rather to why our feet represent the image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our hencely Father thorow good works.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of dauntcing? as wicked and pro- [dea N & A] phane? Ph. All lewde, wanton & lasciulous dauncing in publique alsem-

blies & conventicles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, 1,3 by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauncing which is vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either prinatly or publiquely, is at no hand to be dyfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be yfed for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleafure prinatly (enery fex diffincted by themselves), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot be but a very tollerable exercise, being vsed moderatly and in the feare of God. And 5thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and vncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally: For certen it is, the exercyse it self, in it own nature, equalitie & proprietie,6 though to fome it is lawfull, to otherfome valawfull in (Danneing how dyuerfe respects, is both ancient & general, having been vsed over in valuefull, E. F.1 all ages, as wel of the Godly, as of the wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherfore, when I condemne the fame in fome, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my judgement, as it is vied now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyfe, I without any difference or respect had either to time. P N & back, A 1 Person, sex or place, in publique atsemblies and *frequencies* of People, with fuche beafflie flabberings, buffings & fmouchings, and 10 other filthie geftures & misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as vnpossible to be ysed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middeft of a hote burning 11 fire, and not to confume.12 But these abuses, with other the like (as there be legions moe Danneing vaposable to be

What days ing to condemand by the ord of God.

12 leaf sod, back.

weed with burt E. F.J.

in it) being cut of from the exercyfe it felfe, the thing 13 remayneth

14 very commendable 14 in some respectes. Or els, if our daunces

¹ I comes after God in F. 1 then added in F. distinct F. † leaf 106, back. What dauncyng is condemned. B. *- and quality F. * kissinges B, E, F. 10 with B, E, F. *- great meetings F. 19 burne B, E, F. 1) thing it self B, E, F. 11 glowing F. more tollerable B. E. F.

166 Men & wom[en] to dance afunder. The Anatomie

tended, as I haue faid, to the fetting foorth of God his glorie (as the daunces vsed in ¹preter time¹ did) to draw others to pietie and fanctitie of life, and to² praise and reioyce in³ God, to recreat the minde oppressed with some ⁴great toyle or labor, taken in true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them selues, and Wemen by them selues, for els it is not possible to be without sinne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is euery where vsed, to the great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

Spud. And wherfore would you have Men to daunce by them felues, and Women by them felues?

Philo. Because bit is, without all doubte, a brouncation to lust and venery, and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorthe into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therfore a certain godly Father said wel, Omnis faltus in chorea, of saltus in profundum inferni, Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in Ailgna it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you showe mee what Fathers and Councels haue judged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it.

Philo. If I should ¹⁰ goe foorth to ¹⁰ shew all the inuectiues of Fathers, all the decrees of councels, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should never make an end: wher ¹¹ fore of many I wil select a sew, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. Syrach saith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a singer or a dauncer, neither heare her, least thou be intrapped in her crastines. Chrisostome, dylating upon Mathew, saith, In every dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not visible to the eye, yet palpable ¹² to the minde. Theophilus, writing upon Mark, the sixt Chapter, saith, Mira collusio saltat per puellam ¹³ Diabolus: This is ¹⁴ a

1—1 former ages F. 2 to the E, F. 3 rejoycying in B, E, F.

• leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B.

⁵—⁵ otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F.

⁷ This repeated side-note not in B, E, F.

⁸ Cloacæ F.

⁹ a not in F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in F.

† leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B.

¹² sensible F.

¹³ illam E, F.

¹⁴ There is B.

[4 leaf to7 B. *]

Why men shold daunce by themselfes and women by themselfs.

[6 sign. O r. A.]

7 Why men
shold daunce
by themselues
and Women by
them-selues.

[11 leaf 107, back. B.†] Testimonies of Fathers, councels and Writers against dauncing.

Eccle. 13. Mat. 4. wunderful deceit, for the deuil danceth amongst them for company. [' O 1, back, A.] Augustine, writing vpon the 32. Pfalme, faith, it is better to digge all Augustine. the Sabaoth day then to dance. Erafmus, in his Booke de contemptu Erafmus, Mundi, faith, Whose minde is so well disposed, so stable, or wel setled, which these wanton dances, with swinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing vpon inftruments, and fuch like, would not 2 ouercome and corrupt? Wherfore, faith hee, as thou defireft thine owne credit and welfare, eschew these scabbed and scuruy companie of dauncers.

Ludovicus Viues faith, amongst all pleasures, dauncing and volup- Lodovicus tuousnes is the kingdome of Venus, and the empire of Cupid: wherfore, faith hee, it were better for thee to ftay at 3 home, and to break (2 leaf set B 9) either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy 4 minde & foule, as thou dooft in filthie fcuruy dauncings. And, as in all Feafts and pastimes, dauncing is the last, so it is the extream of all other vice. And again, there were (faith he) from Dooncers far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, mad men when they faw men daunce, ran away merueloufly affraid, crying out, and thinking them to have been mad. And no merusile, for who, feing them bleap, skip, & trip like Goates & hindes, if hee neuer faw them? before, would 8 not think them either mad, or els possest page O . A.) with some furie? Bullinger, paraphrasting vpon Mathew 14, faith, Bullinger. After feafting, fwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and vncleannes.

Maister Caluin, writing vpon Iob, Ser. 8, Cap. 12, calleth daunc- Caluin. ing the cheefe mischeef of all mischeefs, saying, there be such vnchast gestures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

Marlorate, vpon Mathew, faith, whofoeuer hath any care either of honestie, sobrietie, or granitie, have long since bad adieu to all filthie dauncing.

No man (faith a certaine heathen Writer) if hee be fober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

Salustius, commending Sempronia, that renowmed whore, for Salost many goodly gifts, condemneth her for her ouer great skil in daunc- in the ing; concluding, that dauncing is the Inftrument of lecherie.

· leaf 108. Dauncyng the cheefest mischeef. B. not be B. 4 the E, F. leap like Squirrilles, skippe like hindes B, E, F. any B, E, F. - as thei doe B, E, F. † leaf 108, back. Dauncyng a world of sinne. B.

168 Who invented dauncing. The Anatomie

Cicera.

Cicero faith, a good man would not dance in open affembles. though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Councel of Laodecea decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any sollemne feast.

In an other Councel it was enacted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[1 O z, back, A.]

The Emperour Instinian decreed, that for no respect in feasts or affemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to finne.

All Writers, bothe holy and prophane, against dauncing.

Dauncing a World of sin.

Thus you may see, bothe Scripture, councels, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, have detefted and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the 2quauemire or plash2 of all abhomination, and therfore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to the stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, in summa, nourisheth a world of wickednes and finne.

[3 leaf 109. B.1]

³ Spud. Now that the wickednes of it is fo manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,4 who invented this noble science, or from whence 5 fprang it 5?

Who inuented dauncing, and from whome it sprang.

Philo. Heereof there be fundry and divers opinions; for fome holde an opinion (and very likely) that it fprang from the heathen idolatrous Pagans and Infidels, who, having offered vp their facrifices. ⁶victimats, ⁷ and holocaustes, ⁶ to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their fo dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

And this may be prooued by the Ifraelits themselues, who, hau-[8 sign O 3. A.] ing feen and learned the fame 8 practife in Egipt, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of Horeb. fome again suppose that Pyrrhus, one of Sibils Preists, deuised it in Creet. Others holde that the Priests of 9 Mars, who in Roome were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, invented it. Others think that one Hiero, a truculent 10 and bloody Tirant in Sicilia, who, to fet vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to fpeake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall who innerted dauncing.

²⁻² quagmire or puddle F.

⁴ shewe me, added in B, E, F.

⁷ victimats not in B.

[†] leaf 109. Who invented Dauncyng. B. 6-6 and oblations F. 5_5 it sprang F. 10 Turculent F. of of F.

infurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inventing therof: for when the Sicilians sawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speak to another, they invented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward into custome, and now into nature. But what socuer men say of it, Vopounde or from whence foeuer it sprang, S. Chrisosom saith plainly (to whom I willingly fubscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the Deuils breft, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therfore, to conclude, if of the egges of a Cokatrice may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,2 then may 2 it be prooued that 3 dancing is 4 good, and an exercife fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before. Wherfore God of his mercy take it away 6 from vs !

[0 s back A]

Spud. What fay you of Musick? is it not a laudable science?

Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie.

Philo.

I Say of Mufick as Plato, Ariffotle, Galen, and many others have faid of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,8 fmoothe fweetnes in alluring the auditorie 10 11 to nicenes 12,11 effeminacie, 13 pufillanimitie, 14 & lothfomnes of life, 14 15 fo as it may not improperly be compared to a fweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-felf 15; for as honie and fuch 17 like fweet things, 17 received into the flomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make 18 the stomack so 19 quafie,20 21 nice and weake, that it is not able to admit 21 meat of hard digesture: So sweet Musick at the first delighteth the eares, but after-22 ward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and 23 [10 leaf 120, 18.1]

· leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B. and in E. F. 1 body to weare B, E, F. be for is in E. F.

2 to F. * nice not in B, E, F. s els E, F. 10 hearers F. 11-11 to a certaine kind of F. 6 in it B, E, F. 13 and added in F. 14_14 net in F. 12 niceness not in B, E, F. 16 musicke B, F, F. 14_11 muche like vnto Honey B, E, F.

17-17 other sweete Conserves B, E; other sweete thinges F. 10 maketh for they make B, E, F. 19 so not in B. E. F.

11....11 and vnable to receive B, E, F. po queasie F. 19 weake and not in B, E, F. † leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B.

Wits dulled by Musick. [* sign. O 4. A.] quasie, and inclined to all licenciousness of lyse whatsoeuer. And right as good edges are not sharpned 2 (but 3 obtused) by beeing whetted 3 vpon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharpned, and made apt to all wantonness and sinne. And therfore 4 Writers affirme Sappho to have been expert in musick, and therfore whorish.

Authors of the bringing in of musick. Tyrus Maximius saith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poyson to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon⁵ musicall Instruments, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of Musick, and saith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as pricks vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Vertue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure Musick by found and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wife concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you list your self.

Spud. I have heard it faid (and I thought it very true) that Musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter 6 to the service of God.

Musick the good gift of God.

[7 O 4, back. A.]

[8 leaf 110, back. B.†]

Philo. I graunt Musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man ⁷ and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh ⁸ it redyer ⁹ to serve God; and therfore did David bothe vse musick him self, & also commend the vse of it to his posteritie (and beeing vsed to that end, for mans privat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in publique assemblies and conventicles. But beeing vsed in publique assemblies and private conventicles, ¹⁰ as directories ¹⁰ to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it estraungeth the mind, stireth vp filthie lust, womannisheth the minde, rauisheth the hart, enslameth concupisence, and bringeth in vncleannes. But if musick openly were vsed ¹¹ (as I have said) to the praise ¹² and glory of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and

1 queasie F. 3-3 dulled by whetting F. 4-4 And hereof is it that F. 6 of B, E, F. 6 and readier added in F.

† leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B.

9 apter F.

10—10 as a Directorie B, E, F.

11 openly follows used in B, E, F.

12 prasie A.

as was intended by it at the first, or prinatly in a mans secret Chamber How more or house, for his owne solace or 1 comfort to drive away the fantasies & seed of idle thoughts, folicitude,2 care, forrowe, and fuch other perturbations and molestations of the minde, the only ends wherto true Musick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.4 If Musick were thus vied it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to serue God the better; but beeing vsed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.5

Spud. What fay you, then, of Musitions & Minstrels, who live only vpon the same art?

* Philo. I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chast musicions (* ice 0 5 A) (speking of suche drun ken sockets and bawdye parasits as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and finging of vncleane, corrupt, and filthic fongs weller. in Tauernes, Ale-houses, Innes, and other publique affemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how should their bere chafte minds, feeing that their exercyfe is the pathway to all vncleanes. Their is no thip to balanced with matter, as their Them heads are fraught 10 with all kind of bawdie fongs, filthie ballads and scurule rymes, seruing for every purpose, and for every Cumpanie.

The scarsity of d montions

11 Who be 12 more bawdie 12 than they? who vncleaner than they? who more licentious and loose 13 minded 14? who more incontinent than they? and, briefely, who more inclyned to all kind of infolencie and lewdnes than they? wherfore, if you wold have your sonne softe, womannish, vncleane, fmoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, The without filthie rimes, and vnfemely talking; brifly, if you wold have him, as and monthly it weare, transnatured into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abhomination, fet him to dauncing school, and to learn muficke, and than shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would have your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and vncleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her vp in 15 musick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you have wun the goale.

[*1 O 5. back A.] How to have

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1 and B. E. F.
                            1 to mitigate F.
                                                    Passions F.
           4 lawful F.
                                           * vncleannes F.
† leaf 111, Good Musitions scarce. B.
                                              Baudry & filthines F.
    "- laden with merchandize F.
                                                    10 pestred F.
  11 As for example added in B; For proofe whereof added in E, F.
12_11 baudier F.
                       11 looser E, F.
                                              14 then they added in F.
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[1 leaf 111, back. B. *] The scarcytie of dynines.

And yet, notwithflanding, it weare better (in respecte of acceptation3) to be a Pyper, or bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and sobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of dyuines, so few there be as they? maye hardly be feene.6

But some of them will reply, and say, what, Sir! we have lycenses from iustices of peace to pype & vse our minstralsie to our best commoditie. Cursed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

exercyse their

But have you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace, Christe Iefus? If you have fo, you may be glad; if you have not (for the Worde of God is against your vngodly exercyses, and condemneth them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extrauagantes, and straglers 10 from the Heauenlye Country, 10 be arrested of the high instice of peace,11 Christ Iesus, 12 and be punished with eternall death,12 notwithstanding your pretensed 12 licences of earthly men. Who 14 shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of God at the daye of Iudgement? Who shall excuse you for draw15ing so manye thousandes to Hell? shall the Iuflices of peace? shall their licenses? Oh, no: 16 For neither ought they to graunt anye licences 17 to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

[15 sign. O 6. A.]

Licences graunted to

musitions & minstrels to

mistery or facultie of

mischief.

No lycences to do hurte withall are to be graunted.

[48 leaf 112. B.t]

A Cauc(a)t to musitions, minstrelles, & all others of that " stampe.

18 Giue ouer, therfore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your prouocations 19 and intyfing allurementes, shalbe powred vppon your heads at the day of

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· leaf III, back. Licences for Minstrelles. B.
      2 of worldly B, E.
                                          3 the accompt of the world F.
                 or a F.
                                                5 of good F.
      *- that small skil in Arithmeticke will suffice to number them F.
             7 any B, E.
                                               8 of the B, E, F.
                                                  10_10 not in B, E, F.
      of peace not in B, E, F.
                                                  12_12 not in B, E, F.
      11 of peace not in B, E, F.
                                                          14 Then who F.
    13 presented A, pretensed B, E, F.
 16 It wil not goe for payment at that day added in F.
                                                               17 licencens A.
   † leaf 112. A Caucat for Minstrelles. B. E has: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on
the Sab.
                     19 example F.
                                                      20 twat A.
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Cardes and dice, flaighty theft. of Abuses.

173

Iudgement, but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like 1 their humour.2

Spud. Is it not lawfull vppon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tennisse, and suche other pleasaunt exercyses, wherein Man taketh pleafure and delight?

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tennisse, Bowles, and other exercyfes vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna.

3 Philoponus.

[O & back A]

THese be no Sabaothlike exercyses for any Christian man to sollow any day at all, much leffe vppon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold have to be confecrat to himselfe, and to be spent in holy and Godly exercyfes, according to his will. As for eards, dice, tables, the Salanth bowls, tennisse, and such like, thei are furta officiosa, a certen kind of Fura fmooth, deceiptfull, and fleightie thefte, wherby many a one is spoiled of all that euer he hath, fometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and foul for beuer. And yet (more is the pitie) these be the onely (1 leaf 114, back exercyfes vsed in every mans howse, al the yeer thorow; But specially in Christimas tyme, there is nothing els vsed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & such like fooleries. And the reason is, they think they have a commission and prerogative that time to do All wicked what they luft,7 and to follow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do Soils they thinke that they are priviledged at that tyme to doo evill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes to be. Can anie time dispense with No 171 them, or give them libertie to fin? No, no: the foule which finneth shall dye, at what time so euer it offendeth. But what will thei say? Is it not Christmas? must we not be mery? truth it is, we ought, both than and at 11 all tymes befides, to be meric in the Lord, but (14 sign. 0 y. A.) not otherwyfe; not to fwil and gull 12 more that time than at any other time, nor 13 13 to lauith foorth more at that time than 14 at another 14 time.15

daintie humours P. † leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vsed in Christmas. R. 4 for that they F. 1 list B, E, F. * exercises B, E, F. anic not in F. 12_12 in more then will suffice nature, nor F. 10 priviledgeth E, F. 13 not A. 14_14 at any other B. E. F. 14 times A, B, F, F.

Great wickednes in Christmas. The Anatomie 174

The true keeping of

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat 1) vppon the incarnation and byrthe of Iefus Christ,2 not onely3 that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our selues thankeful to his Maiestie for the fame. Notwithstanding, who bis ignorant that more mischiefe is that 16 leaf 113. B. 11 time committed than in all the yeere befides? 6 what marking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome,7 murther, 8 and what not,8 is9 committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than vsed more than in all the yeere befydes! to the great dithonor of God, and impouerishing of the realme.

Wickednes in Christmas.

> Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their prinat recreations, after fome oppression of studie, to drive awaye fantasies 10 and suche like, I doubt not, but they may, vfing it moderatly, with intermission and in the feare of 11 God; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for defire onely of his Brothers substaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no 12 [" O 7, back. A.] hand lawfull, or 13 to be fuffered.

Valawful for one Christian to play with another to win his money.

For as it is not lawful to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or flaight, so is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte; for these playes 14 are no better; nay, worser than open thest; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don vnder pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of 15 it. The commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet nor defire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

[Gamyng worse then open theft E, F.]

[15 leaf 113, back. B. †]

† leaf 113, back. Gamyng houses. B.

¹ in the secrete cogitations of our myndes added in B, E, F. 3 God and man added in B, E, F. 3 at added in E, F.

blessed added in F. 5-5 knoweth not E, F; is so for is B. · leaf 113. Great wickenes in Christmas. B.

⁸_8 not in B, F. and sometimes added in B, E, F.

what no, tis A. 10 or melancholy passions added in F. 12 not at any for at no F. 13 nor F. 14 games B, E, F.

of Abuses.

Infamy gotten by gaming.

175

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falshood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The Apostle forbiddeth vs to vse deceipt in bargaining, in buying or felling; much leffe than ought we to vie deceipt in gaming.

Our Saujour Christ biddeth euery man do to an other as he would another should do vnto him. Which rule, if it weare dulie observed, weare fufficient to with [d] raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of lindyrect and vniust dealing. For as thou A rule to woldest not that another man should winne thy money, so thou valuefull oughtest not to desire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou price OLA: wouldest be done by.

Spud. If gameing for money be fo vnlawfull, wherfore are there howses and places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Philo. That excuseth not the fault, but aggravateth it rather. And truely great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be: For are they not the very feminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abhomination, whatsoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

And therfore I marueile, that those who keep and maintaine these gaming howses can ever have light hearts, or once to looke Typ towards Heauen, that not onely suffer this manifest these in their [7 leaf 114 11 1] howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourith the fame.

The Apostle saith, not onely they that doo cuill digni funt morte, are worthie of death, but also qui confentiunt facientilus, those who confent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what euills come of this wicked excercyfe, I befeeche you.

For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the Name of Gop; doth not flinkinge Whordome, Thefte, Robberie, Deceipt, Fraude, Cosenage, fighting, Quareling, and sometymes Murder; *doth ! O & back A) not pride, rapine, drunkn[e]s, beggerye, and, in fine, a thamefull end followe it, as the thadowe doth follow the body? wherfore I will not doubte to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the

1_1 not in F. 4 gamyng houses B, E, F. † leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

2 gamening A. to not in B. E. F. * vphold F.

Lawes against gaming. 176

The Anatomie

shambles, or blockhowses of the Deuill, wherin he butchereth Christen mens soules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppresse them!

Spud. Weare there ever anie lawes made against the inordinat abuse hereof? or haue the Godly in any age misliked it?

Philo. In all ages and times both the godly fober Christians haue detefted it, and holfome lawes have been promulgat 1 against it.

Octavius Augustus was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

[* leaf 114, back. [].*]

Lawes and

sanctions

diuulgat against

gaming.

² Cicero obiected to Mareus Antonius his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The infamy purchased by gaming.

The noble Lacedemonians fent their Ambassadours to Corinth to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthriftie games, returned back again (infecta pace) their peace vnconcluded, faying it should neuer be reported that they wold ioyne in league with Dice-players and gamefters.

[3 sign, P r. A.]

The fame Lacedemonians fent to Demetrius, in derifion of his diceplaying, a paire of 3 dice of gold. Sir Thomas Eliot (that worthing Knight) in his 'Book of gouernance' asketh, who will not think him a light man of small credit, dissolut, remise, and vaine, that is a Diceplayer4 or gamester?

Publius faith, Quantò peritior est aleator in sua arte, tanto nequior est, & vita, & moribus: How much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, fo much corrupter he is both in life and maners. Iustinian made a lawe that none should play at dice, nor cards, for no cause, neither prinately nor openly.

5 Laws against gaming.

> Alexander Seuerus banished all gamesters out of his dominions; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confifcat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted nor esteemed of anie.

[6 leaf 115, B.+]

⁶ Ludouicus ordeined that al gamesters shold depart ⁷ his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

K. Richard the fecond forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

- leaf 114, back. Lawes against Gamyng. B. 1 published F. 6 this side-note not in E, F. 4 Dici-player A. 7 out of added in F.
- † leaf 115. Punishment for Gamyng. B.

K. Henrie the fourth ordeined that every Dice-player should be Panishment imprisoned fix daies for every severall time he offended in gaming.

for gaming.

K. Edward the fourth ordeined, who fo kept gaming howses should fuffer imprisonment three yeeres, and forfait xx. li.1 & the Players to be imprisoned two yeers & forfait .x. pound,

The penalty

K. Henri the seuenth ordeined that every Dice-player should be herp gaming imprisoned all a day, and the 2 Keeper of the dicing howse to forfait (* P l. back, A l for every offence vi. shil, viii.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behauiour.

K. Henrie the eight ordeined that every one that kept dicing houses should forfait xl. shil., and the Players to forfait vi. shil. viij.d., with many 8 good lawes and functions 4 fet foorth against this raging Abuse of gaming; which, to avoid tediousnes I omit, beseching the Lord to root vp and supplant these, and all other stumbling blocks in his church 6 what fo euer.6

Sp. As I remember, in the Catalogue of abuses before, you said, the fabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, hauk- [7 leaf 115, back, ing, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, upon the faid day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow these exercises upon the sabaoth day neither?

Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vied vnlawfully in AILGNA.

Philoponus.

THefe Hethnicall exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which the Bearbaiting n Sundaya I Lord 10 hath confecrat 10 to 11 holy vies, 11 for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For is not 12 the baiting of a Bear, befides that it is a filthic, flinking, 12 and lothforne game, a 14 daungerous & 15 perilous exercyfe 1 (14 hea P , A) wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not fo, yet what exercyfe is this meet

other added in F. 1 pound B, E, F. least I might seeme tedious F. *- * & common wealth F. * vpon the Sabboth day added in F. † leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. IL. 10_10 would have consecrated It, F. F. 2 Heathnish F. 11_11 his seruice F. 12 is not not in H. E. F. 14 is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and not in F. 12 and a It, E. SHARSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBER 12

No Creature to be abused,

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beaft to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleafure? And although they 1 be bloody 1 beafts to mankind, & feeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirst after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to fet foorth the glorie² & magnificence [4 leaf 116. B.] of 3 the great 3 God, & for our vie; & therfore for his fake 4 5 not to be abused. It is a [com]mon faving amongst all men, borowed from the french, Qui aime Iean, aime fon chien; 6 loue me, loue my dog: fo, loue God, loue his creatures.

God is abused when his Creatures are

misused.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think that the abuse therof resulteth to himselfe? And thall we abuse the creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think that the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to fpend our golden yeers in fuch ydle and vaine exercyfes, daylie and hourelie as we do.

Keeping of mastyues and bandogs. [8 P 2, back. A.]

8 And some, who take themselues for no small sooles, are so farre afforted that they will not flick to keep a dofen or a fcore of great massines and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forfooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.10 pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (fay they 11), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the 12 Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pattyme, forfoth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting 18 thefe Gentlemen of fuch reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by fuch vnfauorie exercyfes, his [14 leaf 116, back. Heauenly Maiestie of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his 14 heauie

B. †]

² power added in B, E, F. 1-1 bloudy be F. 3-3 our B, E, F. * leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B. 8-5 we ought not to abuse them B, E, F. that is added in F. 9_9 not in B, E, F. 7 done to his dog F. 10 yea, an hundred B, E, F. 11 say they not in B, E, F. 13 fitting F. 12 the not in F. † leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [= Parys] garden. B.

A wofull cry at Syrap' garden. of Abuses.

179

wrath, his fearfull judgements,1 and dreadfull vengeance vppon the Beholders of these vanities.2

A Fearfull Example of God his ludgement vpon the prophaners of his Sabaoth.

(Accident at the Bear-House in Paris Garden Southwark, on Sunday, Jan 13. 1583.]

VPon the 13. day of Ianuarie last, being the Sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the People, Men, Wemen, and Children, both youge and old, an infinit number flocking 6 to 7 those infamous places, where (7 des. P > A) these wicked exercyses are vsuallie practised, (for they have their courts, gardens, & yards for the fame purpose) "when they were" all come together and mounted aloft vpon their scaffolds and galleries, and in middeft of al their jolytie & pastime, all the whole building (not one flick flanding) fell down with a most wonderfull and fearefull confusion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation9), wherof seuen were killed dead, 10 some were 10 wounded, some lamed, and othersome brused and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines dasht out, some their heads all to fquatht, 11 fome their legges broken, fome their arms, fome their backs, some their thoulders, some one hurt, some another. So that you should have hard a woful crie, even pearcing the skyes, A wofull crie. " parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents, wynes 13 their Hutbands, and Hutbands their wynes, marueilous to be- [11 leaf 117 B.1] hould 14! This wofull spectacle and heavie judgement, pitifull to heare of, but most rucfull to behold, did to the Lord fend to down from Heaven, to thew vnto the whole World how greeuously he is offended with those that spend his Sabaoth in such wicked exercises; In the meane tyme, leaving his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to thun the fame for feare of 17 like or worfer 18 Judgement to come!

[" P & back. A]

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• Paris-(F. J. F.)
                      1 judgment B, E, F. 1 as hearafter followeth B, E, F.
    2-1 the Sabbaoth dale B, E, F.
                                                          I last not in F.
              there resorted an infinite number of for the E. F.
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^{*-} of each sort E, F. and beyng B, E, F.

¹⁰_10 were some F. by estimation not in B, E, F. 11 quasht Il, E, F. 12 this side-note not in F. † leaf 117. A wofull spectacle at the Theaters.

¹⁴ haue heard F. 19 did not in B, E, F. sent B, E, F. 10 sharper B, E, F.

A fearfull Indgement of God, shewed at the Theaters.

THE like ludgement (almost1) did the Lord shew vnto them a litle befor, being affembled at their Theaters, to fee their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies 2 practifed: For he caused the earth mightely to thak and quauer, as though all would have fallen down; wherat the People, fore amazed, some leapt down (from the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they flood) to the ground: wherof3 fome had their legs broke, fome their arms, fome their backs, some hurt one where, some another,4 & many sore crusht and brused; but not any but they went away fore affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither the one nor the other fray them from these dinelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his 6 leaf 117, back. wrath; which God forbid! The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the maieftrats to pluck down these places of abuse, that god may be honored and their consciences disburthened 7.8

A wofull spectacle.

Cockfeighting vpon the Sabaoth. · day added in F.] (10 sign. P 4. A.]

Appointed times for exercise of dyuelries.

Befids these exercises, thei flock, thick & three fold, to the cockfeights, an exercyfe nothing inferiour to the rest, wher nothing is vsed but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cose onage, fcoulding, railing, conuitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; &, which is worst of all, robbing of 11 one an other of their goods, & that not by direct, but indirect means & attempts: & yet to blaunch & fet out these mischies withall (as though they were vertues) thei haue their appointed daies & fet howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They have houses erected to the 12 purpose, flags & ensignes hanged out, to give notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim the same, to th' end that many may come to the dedication 13 of this folemne feast of mischief: 14 the

14_14 not in B, E, F; A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E :- Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F has: - Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabboth day in England.

² fooleries there F. 1 in effect F. 3 whereby F. 5 sore B, E, F; store A. another where F. † leaf 117, back. Cockfightyng in Ailgna. B. 7 discharged F. 8 A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F :- Cockfightyng in Ailgna; F has: - Cockfighting vpon the Sabboth day in England. 9 not in F. 11 of not in F. 12 that B, E, F. 13 celebration F.

Lord supplant them! 14 And as for hawking & hunting vpon the Hawking & fabaoth day, it is an exercyfe vpon that day no lettle vnlawful than the salesth the other; 2 For no man ought to fpend any day of his life, much (* leaf us. R.*) leffe euery day 3 in his life,3 as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: wherfore let Gentlemen take heed; for, be iure, accounts must be given at the day of judgement for bevery minut of time, both how they have spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be No more fure no more libertie is given them to mispend an howre, or one iote to week of the Lord his goods, than is given to the poorest and meanest for masses deperson that liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, and [t then to f.] in the volume of the facred scripture, that was a good man and a Hunter.

Libertas grana ing of thest

than another

obedient to

Efau was a great hunter, but a reprobat; If maell a great hunter, I' P a back A) but a miscreant; Nemrode, a great hunter, but yet sa reprobat and a vessell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and No cool hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation, now and than, but kenplace against the continuall vse therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie haue some in it, as they make it all their ioye, bestowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a fort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one Cost bestowed yeer, than they will impart 10 to the poore members of Christ Jesus in dogges. vil. yeers, peraduenture, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradice perfifted in innocency, all beafts what fo euer weare obedient to him, and came and proftrated 11 themselves be 12 fore him; But (12 leaf 11 lk, back euer fince his fall they have fled from him, & disobeyd him, because When all of his fin; that feeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeied 13 him. For fo long as man obeied God, fo long they obeied him, but wherfore they fo foone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, & becam enemies to him; as it were, feeking to revenge the 15 injurie which man had don vnto 16 Gop in disobeying his lawes. Wherfore the cause why all beasts do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to 17 vs, is our disobedience to

* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntyng. B. 1 day not in E. F. 2_3 not in F. And therfore F. 1 of F. 4 Scriptures F. *- an abject E, F. times F. 10 giue F. 11 humbled F. 18 disobey F. † leaf 118, back. Why beastes rebell against man. B. 11 vnto F. 10 that E. F. 14 to F.

the LORD, which we are rather to forow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the fleading of their blood.

[sign. P s. A.] For pleasure sake only no man ought to abuse any of the cretures of God.

¹ If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seek after their liues, it is lawfull to vie them, in the feare of God, with thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wife to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or 2 rather a ³pseudo-christian, ³ that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and plesaunt delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth vp the corne of the poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwife 4in prejudicing 4 him, as hunters doo? wherfore God give them grace to fee to it, and to mend⁵ it ⁶ betimes ere it be to late; for they know mora trahit periculum, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leave the evil and to doo good, least the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and consume vs from of 8 the vpper face of the Earth.9

Hurt by hunting to poore Men. [6 leaf 119. B.+]

> Spud. What fay you to keeping of Markets, of 10 Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vie the fame vpon any 11 day?

Not lawfull to keep cour(t)es Leets, Markets and Fayres, vpp on the Sabaoth day.

Philo. No truely; for can you 12 ferue God & the deuil togither? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to the deuil? can we ferue two [13 P 5, back, A.] Maisters, 13 and neither offend the one nor 14 the other? can wee serue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be ferued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For faith he, ' Thou shalt loove the Lord thy God with all thy foule, withall thy minde, withall 15 thy power, withall thy firength,' and fo foorth, or els with none Then, seeing that we are to give ouer our selues so wholely and totally to the service of God al the daies of our life, but ef-

15 withail A.

² or not B, E, F. 3-3 cruel Tartarian F. 4-4 annoving F. † leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B. 5 amend F.

⁷ the not in B, E, F. 8 of not in B, E, F.

A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E, F :- Markettes, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabbaoth daie in Ailgna [England F.]. 11 that E, F. 12 we F. 14 nor displease E, F 10 of not in F.

pecially vppon the Sabaoth day, being conselerate to that end, [f leaf 119, back. we may not intermedle with these prophane exercises upon that Abuse of the day. For it is more then manifest that these faires, markets, courtes, Payres, markets. and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs [* maskets A.] in the true? feruice of God, and an abuse of the Sabaoth, but alto lead vs the path way to hel. For what cofonage is not there practifed? The cuil in what falthod, deceit, & fraude is not there exercised? what dif- Markets. fimulation in bargaining? what fetting foorth 3 of fucate 3 & deceiuable wares, is not there frequented 4? what lying, fwering, fortwering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & fometimes murther, either there or by the way thither, is not every where vied⁵? In courtes & leets, what The earls in enuie, malice, & hatred is noorifhed6? what expostulation, railing, Lests practised. fooulding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? "what opreffion (" ign, P.6. A.) of the poore, what fauouring the 8 rich, what iniuffice & indirect dealing? what bribing, deceining, what poling & pilling is there 9 practifed? it would make a christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithflanding, we must have these goodly pageants played upon the fabaoth day (in a wanion), because there are no mo daies in the week. And heerby 10 the fabaoth is contaminat, 10 Gods woord contemned, his commandements difanulled, his facraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, &, 11 in fumma, his blood trod under feet, and all mischeef [11 leaf 100 B.t] maintained. 12 The Lord cut of thefe, with all other fin, both from their foules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truely edified 12 !

Spud. Is the playing at football, reding of mery bookes, & fuch like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

Ph. Any exercise which withdraweth vs from godlines, either vpon the fabaoth 13 or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbiden. 14 Now, Playing at who is so grosly blinde, that seeth not that these aforesaid exercises not only withdraw vs from godlines & vertue, but also haile & allure vs to

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· leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.
    3 true not in F.
                           counterfeit F.
                                                       4 vicil B, E, F.
                          nooimhed A.
committed B, E, F.
                                              of the F.
                                                            * the (m) F.
         10_10 it commeth to passe that the Sabboth is prophanel F.
                † leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.
   11_11 not in B, E, F. A new chapter-heading follows, Playing at Footelsall
o in Ailgna. o (o-o vpon the Sabboth and other dayes in England F.)
          11 day addal in F.
                                             14 forbidded (nic) F.
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184 Great hurt, by Foot-ball play. The Anatomie

wickednes and fin. for as concerning football playing, I protest vnto

Foot-hall a freeadly kind of fight.

you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murthering practife, then a felowly sporte [1 P 6, back. A.] or pastime. 1 For dooth not every one lye in waight for his Aduerfarie, feeking to overthrowe him & to picke him on his nofe, though it be vppon hard flones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place focuer it be, hee careth not, fo he2 haue him down. that can ferue the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? fo that by this meanes, fomtimes their necks are broken, 3 fometimes their backs, 3 fometime their legs, fometime their [4 leaf 120, back armes; 4 formetime one part thurst out of ioynt, sometime an other; B.+] fometime⁵ the⁶ nofes gush out with blood, sometime⁵ their eyes start out7; and fometimes hurt in one place, fometimes in another. But whofoeuer fcapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either fore 8 wounded, craifed 9,8 and brufeed, fo as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly, and no meruaile, for they have the 10 fleights to meet one betwixt two, to dathe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the fhort ribbes with their griped fifts, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with all hundered fuch murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and fometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

Hurt by football playing.

Foot-Ball playing a mur-thering Play.

[12 sign. P 7. A.]

12 Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabaoth day? is this a christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepenfed malice, or fet purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to vs? God make vs more careful over the bodyes of our Bretheren! 13

Reading of wicked bookes [14 leaf 121. B.t]

14 And as for the 15 reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vnlawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but also vppon any other day; as

3_3 not in F. 2 he maie B, E, F. † leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B. 6 their B, E, F. 7 of their heads added in F. 5 sometimes F. 10 the not in B, E, F. 6-6 crushed F. raised not in B, E.

12 A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F. Readyng of wicked bookes in Ailgna. [England. F.]

15 the not in F. † leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B.

which tende to the dithonour of God, depravation of good manners, and corruption of christian soules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the flomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vn. The east godly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect reading the foule, & corrupt the minde, hailing it to distruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.1

And yet, notwithstanding, whosoeuer wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhonest focuer, or vnfeemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plaufibly 2 admitted and freendly licenfed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this iffue, that bookes & pamphlets of scurilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyest and sagest bookes that be: for 4 if it [11 7, back A.] be a godly treatife, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almost) though they make a floorish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is letfe) to much as once touch it. This maketh the Bible, the bleffed Book of God, to be so little effeemed; That woorthie Booke of Martyrs, made by that famous [] leaf 111, back Father & excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister John Fox, fo little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be reuerenced; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are fuffered to be printed. These prophase schedules, facraligious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wherof may 9 vendicate to them felues no final com- [The horse that mendations at the hands of the deuil for inventing the fame) corrupt by the Fi mens mindes, peruert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, suppresse vertue & creft vice: which thing, how should it be otherwise? for are they not invented & excogitat by Belzebub, written by Lucifer, licensed by Pluto, printed by Cerberus, & set a-broche to fale by the infernal furies themselues, to the poyloning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licenfors, the printers, & the fellers of these vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impicties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt 10 thorow these through signal; leaf P 4 is most.

the catchward so right.]

⁻¹ received F. 4 but B, E, F. 1 present not in F. that B, E, F. renowmed F.

[.] leaf 121, back. Hethnicall bookes in Ailgna. B. to be not in 1'. "- challenge no small reward F.

wicked bookes, shalbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might al these inormities and Abuses be reformed? For it is to small purpose to shew the abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed.

[* leaf tzz. B.*]
[The Laws against Evil Doors are not enforct.]

Philo. By putting in practife and executing 2 those good lawes, 3 wholsome fanctions 3, and Godly 4 statutes, which have beene heretofore, and daily are, set foorth and established, as God be thanked, they 5 are mattie. The want of the due execution wherof is the cause of all these mischiefs, which both rage and raigne amongst vs.

Spud. What is the cause why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truely, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the nigligence and contempt⁶ of the inferiour Magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, disfranchised and dispensed withall; for, as the saying is, ⁷ quid non pecunia potest: what is it but money will bring to passe⁷? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don inuisibly in a clowde (vnder benedicite I speake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the same are ⁸ dalie executed. This sault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to see them executed, as I haue ⁹ tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

[Why the lawes are not executed as they ought to bee E, F.]
[9 P 8, back (wrong Q 1, bk.)

Spud. This is a great ¹⁰corruption & ¹⁰ Abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

Ph. It is so truely; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publique weale of the Cuntrey and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for drosse, yea, mens souls for corruptible molliney? Therfore, those that sell them are not onely Traitors to God, to their Prince and Countrey, but are also the Deuils Marchants, and 12 ferrie the bodies and soules of Christians, 18 as

(** leaf 222, back. B.†)

[They that buy

amended B, E, F.

leaf 122. How to reforme Abuses. B.
 Goldy A; Godly B, E, F.
 there B, E, F.
 corruption F.

¹—¹ Pecunia omnia potest, Money can do all thynges B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ duly excuted (sic) B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in B, E, F.

† leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B.

13 13 as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in Charons boate 1 13 to the Stigian flood of Hell, burning with or sell lawes for fire and brimftone for euer.

money are traitors to God E, F.]

And those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince, and Countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al 2 the lawes in Ailgna be), why thuld they be suppressed a for money? and if they were euill, why were they disulged,4 but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer feene the light.

And why were lawes inflituted 5, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to have no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to have good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull the (None mair stay fame againe, vpon speciall 7 causes & considerations, but no inferiour brief prior E, F.] maiestrat or subjecte what so ever, may stop the course of any lawe of sign Q a. A.) made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne foule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

And therfore, wo be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so Godly and so Christian as thei be in Ailgna) vppon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as euer was Iudas of the death of Christe Icfus.

[* leaf say, B.+]

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is fuch abhomination amongest them, The day of I am perswaded the 10 daye of Judgement is not farre of; For when not lar of.) iniquity shall have filled up his measure, than shall the end of all 11 appeare, as Christ witnesseth in his Euangelie.

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certen; For what wonderfull portents,12 strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull Judgements 13 hath he sente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence 14 & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the [The wooderfull

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over the Sea of this world added in B. E. F.
   2 the most of B, E, F.
                                bought out F.
                                                          * published F.
        onstitute B, E, F.
                                                          annul F.
" net in F.
              + leaf 123. The latter daie at hande, Il.
                                                           10 that the E. F.
11 all thinges E, F.
                       10 not in F.
                                    18 tokens F.
                                                        14 impenitencie E, F.
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fame Earth to remooue from place to place? the seas and waters to

188

signes and tokens; which sent to warne vi of the date of judgement E, F.) [1 Q a, back, A.]

roare, swell, & brust out, and overflow their bankes 1 to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to fend foorth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclypses in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull conjunctions of Starres and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres have not been? heard of? haue not the clowdes distilled downe aboundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges uppon the Earth? have we not seene Commets, blafing starres, firie 3 Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? Hath not dame Nature her selfe denied vnto vs her operation in fending foorth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglefome monsters and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it feemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs with destruction, and yet 4 we are 4 nothing at all amended: (alas) what 5 shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal judge vs righteously? that there is a Deuill who shall torment vs after this lyfe vnípeakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that there is a Material Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherein they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongest the terrible Company of vgglefome 6 Deuills, world without end, how light fo euer they make account of it in this World.

[1 leaf 123, back.

[All God's Creatures are wroth with us, but we don't mend.]

[6 sign. Q 3. A.]

[9 Materiall helf after this life E, F.1

For some such there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at7 it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, onely spoke to terrifie vs withall, not 8 otherwyte. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his Children, fo there is a Deuill that will remunerat his Seruaunts; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect ioye prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a Materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobat, prepared for the Deuil & his [10 leaf 124. B.t] Angels, or els the word of God is in 10 no wyfe to be credited; which blasphemie once to think 11, God keep all his Children from !

² seene or added in F. e leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B. 4_4 are we F. 5 that A, B, E; what F. 7 of F. and not F. A materiall F. † leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B. 11 think of F.

Spud. But they will eafily avoid this; for they say it is writ1, at what time so euer a finner doth repent him of his finne, I wil put all his fin 2 out of my remembrance, faith the Lord. So that, if they maye have three words at the last, they will wish no more. think you of these selowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but Deuills; no Christians, but worse [Men who put off than Tartarians, and more to be avoided than the poison of a fer- their deaths are pent; for the one flayeth but the body, but the other both body & foul for euer. Wherfore let euery good Christen Man take heed of them, and anoid them; For it is truely faid cum bonis bonus eris, ('Q) back A) et eum peruersis peruerseriss: with the good thou thall bearne good, but with the wicked thou thall be peruerted.

but Devilad

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Ph. No, truely; For true repentance must spring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating, and deteffing of finne. But this deferred repentance (pringeth not of faith, but rather of the feare (No true repentance which is of death, which he feeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and deferred to the tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable judgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therfore this can be no true repentance; For there is two maner of repentances, the one a true repentance to life, the other a false re- [leaf 194, back. pentance to death. As we maye see by Iudas, who is said to have re- (Two maners) of pented, and, which is more, to have confessed his faulte, and, which is repentance, a is most of all, to have made restitution, and yet was it a false repent- pentance E, F.1 ance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

last gaspe E, F.]

Peter repented and weept bitterly, and was faued therby, though be neither made confession nor satisfaction; and why? Because it sprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these selowes may say they repent, but except it be a 11 true repentance, springing of faith, it can [" ign Q 4 A] ferue them no more to life, than the pretenfed repentance of Iudas did ferue him to faluation.

written F. wickednes E. F. 3-3 then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoeuer F. 4 shalt F. 1 not in F. are E. F. a peruerteris II, F. 10 maner of repentances F. * leaf 124, back. Who are true repentants. B.

190 Repentance not to be deferred. The Anatomie

Let them beware, for Cain repented, yet is he condemned. Esau did repent, yet is he condemned; Antiochus did repent, yet is he condemned; Iudas did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moc. And why so? Because their prolonged repentaunce sprange not of faith, &c.¹

o

[Every light affection is no true repentance E, F.]

[4 leaf 125. B.+]

(6 Q 4, back. A.)
[Of true and feignd repent-

ance.]

Thus they may see, that energy light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not ynough to say at the last, I repent, I repent; For vales it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare so that man had liberum arbitrium, free wil² of himself to repent truely when he wold, and that God³ promised in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is donum Dei, the gifte of God, de fursum veniens a patre luminum, com⁴ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giueth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleaseth⁵ him; & of him are we to craue it incessantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwise to presume of our owne repentance, when, indeed, we have nothing lesse than a true repentance.

⁶ Spud. Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and forrow of the ⁷ heart, conceived for our finnes, with a hatred and lothing of the fame) [f]erueth to faluation thorow the mercie of God in Christ, so fained repentance faueth not from perdition. And, therfore, we must repent dayly and howrely, and not to ⁸ deferre our repentance to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast⁹ (as they say) will hazard his body and soule to eternall damnation for euer? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he maye assure him selfe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the most precious blood of his deare Sonne, Iesus Christ, our alone Sauiour and Redemer, to whome be praise for euer!

1 & of an inward hatred vnto sin, &c. F.
2 and power added in F.
3 God had F.
4 leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.
5 shall please B, E, F.
6 did not for not to F.
7 the not in F.
9 gasp F.

Spud. Now must I needs say, as the Wyse King Salomon said, All things are all things are vaine and 1 transitorie, and 2 nothing is permanent under vanitie it-selfe. the Sonne: the workes of men are unperfect and lead to destruction, kill their exercyfes are vaine and wicked altogether.

Wherfore I, fetting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth confecrate 3 my felfe to the service of my God, and to P sign R 1. A) follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

And I most hartelie thanke the Lord God for your good Company this day, and for your graue instructions; promising, by the asfistance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God give you grace so to do, and every Christen man els, and to avoid all the vanities and deceivable pleasures of this life; for The loyes of certenly they tread the path to eternal destruction, both of body and foule for euer, to as many as obey them.

the path to death.

For it is vnpossible to wallowe in the delights and pleasures of this World, and to lyue in joy for euer in the Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, having spent the daye, and also consummate our iorney, we must now depart, beseaching God that we may both meete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raign; and lyue

with him for euer, through Iefus Chrifte our Lorde:

to whome, with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour & glorie for euer more. Amen.

FINIS.1

† leaf 125, back. A Christian protestation, B. 2 and that F. 4 Lord my E. F. Icade E, F. 4 ended our F. 1 F then concludes with this line : - God have the praise, both now and alwaies. Amen.



¹¶ Faults escaped in printing.

Letter.	Page.	Line.	Fault.	Correction.
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xí	5	what is ther	what thing is there
In D	xi [p. 49]	3	initimur	nitimur
In D	xiiii) [p. 50]	9 []. 1]	tante meriades	tantæque meryades 2
In D	XY	16	fupplyed	applyed [p. 52, L 11]
In F	i	19 Read	thus:	
	[See p. 65, 4th Spud. I pray you flew me the opinions of Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.			
In F	ix [p. 71]	3 [I. S]	Antiquities	Antiques 2
In F	xvj	5	pefteruing	peftering
In I	iij [p. 105]	26 [1. 9]	refug meat	refuse meate
In I	iij [p. 105] iij [,,]	27[,,]	patrings	parings
In I	viij [p. 108]	16 [l. 23]	appetitum	appetitui



[sign. R 2, A.]

Perused, authorised, & allowed, according to the order appoincted in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions.



At London
Printed by Richarde
Iones: dwellinge at the Signe of the
Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto
Holborne Bridge.
1583³.



[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll:—Qvel . che. mi . molestava . accendo . et . ardo. This plate is not in B, E.]

1 this page '192' not in F.

3 1585 E, 1595 F.

² The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.

EXTRACTS

FROM

PHILLIP STUBBES'S
Life of his Wife.

1591.



A Christal Glasse for

Christian vvomen.

CONTAYNING

An excellent Discourse, of the godly life
and Christian brath of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes
who departed this life in Burton vppon
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day
of December. 1590.

With a most heauculy confession of the Christian

Faith, which she made a little before her departure:
togither, with a most wonderfull combate betwixt Satan and her soule: worthie to
be imprinted in the tables of euery Christian heart.

as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessel are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen so saicth the Spirite, for they rest from their labours, and their workes follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne neere Molborne Bridge. 1591.



A Christall Glas, for Chri-

[leaf A s]

stian women: wherein they may see a wonderfull and true example of a right vertuous life and Christian death: as by the discourse following, to

their further instruction and comfort, it may appeare.

Sidewater by F. 7. F.1



Alling to remembrance (most Christian Reader) the I publish my finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God, wife's Life, to and to edifie one another in the way of true godlinesse, I thought it my duetie as well in respect of the one, as in regarde of the other, to publish this rare

and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Christian death, of mittreffe Katherine Stubbes, who whileft she lined, was a myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true Christianitie. She was of honest and wealthie parentage, and her Her Faller, a father had borne office of worship in his companie: he was zealous in the truth, and of a found Religion. Her mother was a Dutch woman, both discreete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie: and, which did most of all adorne her, she was both religious, and verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London certain yeares, it pleased God to blesse them with children, of whom My wife, their this Katherine was yongest saue one. But as she was yongest saue one by course of nature: so was the not inferiour to any of the rest, or rather farre excelled them all without comparison by manie degrees, in the induments and qualities of the mind. At xv. yeares of age Attishematried (her father being dead) her mother bestowed her in marriage to one maister Stubbes, with whom she lived four yeares, and almost an halfe, verie honeftly and godly, with rare commendations of all that knewe her, as well for her fingular wifedome, as also for her modelibe, courtefie, gentlenetle, affabilitie and good gouernment.

Her Mother,

me, and lead with me a years.

She was zealous for the truth, and opposel Papists and Atheists.

[leaf A z, back]

She was seldom without a Hible or good book in hand.

She was always asking me to explain tests.

She sufferd no disorder in her house.

She never scolded or brawld:

or gossipt.

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she feemed to furpasse manie: Infomuch as if the chanced at any time to be in place where either Papifts or Atheifts were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenaunce or credite focuer they feemed to be, the would not yeeld a jote, nor give place vnto them at all, but would most mightily instific the truth of God, against their blaspemous vntruthes, and conuince them; yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to seeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conversant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or fome other good booke in her hands. And when she was not reading, she would fpend the time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion: asking him: "what is the sence of this place, and what is the fence of that? Howe expounde you What observe you of this place, and howe expounde you that? this place, and what observe you of that?" So that shee seemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the same spirite that Dauid was, when hee faide: 'The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commandement of our Saujour Christ, who biddeth vs to fearch the Scriptures, for in them you hope to have eternal life. She obeied the commandement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be filent, and to learne of their husbands at home. She would fuffer no diforder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproued, or vnreformed. And fo gentle was shee, and curteous of nature, that she was neuer heard to give any the lie, nor fo much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer knowen to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the least childe that lived: much lesse to scolde or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cause at all. And fo folitarie was shee given, that shee woulde verie seldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulsion, go abroade with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or make merie (as they tearme it). informuch that shee hath beene accused to doo it in contempt and disdaine of others.

When her husbande was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that coulde get her

abroad to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise what socuer: She'd not go to neither was the given to pamper her bodie with delicate meates, wines, or strong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as the Beaf A al excelled in the gift of fobrietie, fo the furpatled in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diverse yet living, that the vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwise. She abhorred She coulde neuer abide to heare any filthie or vncleane talk of talk; fcurrilitie, neither fwearing nor blaspheming, cursing nor banning, but would reproue them tharply, thewing them the vengeance of God due for such deserts. And which is more, there was never one filthy, vncleane, vndecent, or vnfeemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curie or ban, to sweare or blaspheme God any maner of way: but alwayes her speach were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle And for her conversation, there was never any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadow of dishonestie, so continently the lined, and to circumfpectly the walked, eschewing over show of end the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true love and loialtie to her hufband, and his friends, the was (let me fpeake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for thee was so She was farre from perswading her hutbande to bee lesse beneficiall to his friendes, that thee woulde perswade him to bee more beneficiall and never crosses to them. If the tawe her hutband merrie, then thee was merrie; if hee were fadde, the was fadde; if he were heatie, or patlionate, thee would endeuour to make him glad; if he were angrie, the would quickely please him, so wifely shee demeaned her selfe towardes him. Shee woulde neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wife counfaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and fubmittion, feeke to perswade him. And so little given was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours maruayled why flice was no more carefull of it, and She card and for would afke her fometimes, faying: "Miffreffe Stubbes, why are you no low God more carefull for the things of this life, but fit alwayes poaring uppon a booke, and fludying?" To whome the woulde answere: "If I shoulde be a friend to this worlde, I shoulde be an enemie to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. John biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I love the world, the love of the father is

live continently,

generous; sympathird with her husband,

[leaf A 3, back]

She felt she should not live long,

but should die in child-birth.

Her boy was born,

and she did very well,

till a burning ague seizd her.

She never slept an hour together for 6 weeks;

but in all her suffering, no impatient word escapt her. not in me. Againe, Christ biddeth mee, first seeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnesse thereof, and then all these worldly things shall be given to me. 'Godlinesse is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.' I have chosen with good Martha the better part, which shall neuer be taken from me. Gods treasure (shee would fay) is neuer drawne drie. I have inough in this life, God make me thankeful, and I know I have but a fhort time to live here. and it standeth me vpon to have regard to my saluation in the life to come." Thus this godly yong woman helde on her course three or foure yeares after shee was married: at which time it pleased God, that she conceyued with a man childe: after which conception she would fay to her hufband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not once, nor twice, but manie times, that the should neuer beare more children, that that child woulde bee her death, and that fhee shoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, fo it came to passe.

The time of her account being come, shee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much speede, and as safely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, she grewe so strong and lustie, that she was able within foure or fine dayes to sit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house, being throughly well, and past all daungers, as euerie one thought. But presently vpon this so sudden recouerie, it pleafed God to visite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which ficknes she languished for the space of fix weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, shee was neuer feene, nor perceived to fleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vinderstanding, sence, and memorie, to the last breath: prayfed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her fickenesse, which was both long and grieuous, the neuer thewed any figne of discontentment, or of impaciencie: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, founding either of desperation, or infidelitie: ot mistrust, or distrust, or of any doubting or wavering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and resolute in her God. And so desirous was the to be with the Lorde, that these golden sentenses were neuer

forth of her mouth, "I defire to be diffolued, and to be with Christ." [leaf A 4] And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliuer me from this bodie fubiect to finne? Come quickly, Lord Iefus, come quickly! She desird to be Like as the heart defireth the water fprings, so dooth my soule thirst be with Christ, after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of my God, then to dwell in the tentes of the wicked:" with manie other heauenly fentences, which (least I should seeme to tedious) I willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her fickenesse absolutely, that God would take her out of this miferable worlde: and when her husband and others would defire her to pray for health, if it were the will of God: Shee would answere, "I pray you, pray not that I shoulde liue, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life, and death is to me aduantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death, She knew death and therfore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to everlasting life. me. I knowe and am certainly perswaded by the spirite of God, that the fentence of my death is given alreadie, by the great Iudge, in the Court or Parliament of heaven, that I shall nowe depart out of this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might live here, but pray to God to giue me strength, and pacience, to perseuere to the ende, and to close vp mine eyes in a justifying faith in the blood of my Christ." Sometimes she would speake very softly to herselfe, and sometimes very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together, "Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for thy Christ his fake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send She prayd God thy fergeant to arest me, send thy purseuant to apprehend me, thy setch her. herauld to fummon me: oh fend my Iailour to deliuer my foule out of prison, for my bodie is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to my foule. Oh fende thy holie Angels to conduct my foule into the euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as it were in a flumber, her eies closed, & her lips yttering these words very foftly to her felfe: "Oh my fweete Iefus, oh my loue Iefus: why She calld on not nowe, fweete Iefus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. fweete Iesus, pray for mee! pray for me, sweete Iesus!" repeating them many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly fpeaches, and continual meditations: and neuer worfer worde was [leaf A 4, back] there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of her

was the door to

202

She often smil'd sweetly,

seeing visions and heavenly sights.

She took leave of her boy, and

bequeatht him to me as the Lord's.

She repented of having been too fond of her little dog.

[leaf B]

She was accustomed many times as she lay, verie suddenly to fall into a fweete fmiling, and fometimes into a most heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely: and her countenaunce feemed as though she greatly rejoyced at some And when her husband would aske her why she glorious fight. finiled and laughed fo, she woulde fay, "if you fawe fuch glorious visions and heavenly fights as I fee, you would rejoyce and laugh with me: for I fee a vision of the joyes of heaven, and of the glorie that I shall go to; and I see infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my foule into the kingdome of heauen." In regard whereof, the was willing to forfake herfelfe, her husband, her childe, and all the world befides. And fo calling for her childe, which the Nurse brought vnto her, she tooke it in her armes, and kiffing it, faid: "God bleffe thee, my fweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen:" and kiffing it againe, deliuered it to the Nurse, with these words to her husband standing by: "Beloued husband, I bequeath this my child vnto you; he is nowe no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forfake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne felfe, and esteeme all things dungue, that I may winne Iefus Chrift. And I pray you, bring up this child in good letters, in discipline; and aboue all things, see that he be brought vp in the exercise of true Religion."

The childe being taken away, she spyed a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time she loued well,) lying vpon her bed: she had no sooner spied her, but she beate her away, and calling her husband to her, said: "Good husband, you and I have offended God grieuously in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord give vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities!" And afterward coulde shee never abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Having thus godly disposed of all things, she fell into an extasse, or into a traunce or sownde, for the space almost of a quarter of an houre, so as every one thought she had beene dead. But afterward she, comming to her selfe, spake to them that were present, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) saying: "Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you have taken with me: and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beseech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heaven. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glasse is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perswaded, for three causes, to make a confession of my fayth, before you all. The first cause that moueth me is, for that those (if there be any such here) that are not thorowly refolged in the trueth of God, may heare and learne what the spirite of God hath taught me out of his bleffed and alfauing worde. The fecond cause that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you shoulde judge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the mysticall bodie of Iesus Christ, and so by your rash judgement might incurre the displeasure of God. The thirde and last cause, is for that, as you have beene witnesses of part of my life, so you might bee witnesses of my faith and beliefe also. And in this my confession, I woulde not have you to thinke, that it is I that speake vnto you, but the spirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, valeffe they be reprobates: for Paul fayeth, Rom. 8, 'If any one haue not the spirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.' This bleffed spirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifully. And therefore I pray you give me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the spirite of God, by whom I am fealed to the day of redemption."

She wisht to make confession of her faith, 1. to confirm others:

2. to testify that she died a Christian;

3. that her friends might be witnesses of her belief.

A most heavenly confession of the Christian faith, made by this blessed servant of God Mistresse Stubbes a little before she died.

My Wife's Confession of Faith.



Lthough the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vuspeakeable, and therefore can neither be conceiued in heart, nor expressed in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleeue, as farre as he hath reuealed himfelfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the spirite of God shall illuminat my

heart. I beleeue therefore with my heart, and freely confesse with my mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleeue, is a most glorious spirite, or spirituall substance, a diuine essence, or

[leaf B 1, back]

I believe in God in 3 Persons, effenciall being, without beginning or ending, of infinite glorie, power, might & maiestie, inuisible, inaccessible, incomprehensible, and altogether vnspeakable. I beleeue and confesse, that this glorious Godhead, this blessed substaunce, essence, or being, this diuine power which we call God, is deuided into a trinitie of Persons, the father, the sonne, and the holy spirite, distinct onely in names and offices, but all one and the same in nature, in essence, substance, deitie, maiestie, glorie, power, might, and eternitie.

&c., &c., &c.

"When God had cast Adam into a deade sleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his side, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her streight way, and called her by her name. Coulde Adam in the state of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead sleepe, whilest she was in making? And shall not we being restored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was Adam in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee lesse in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and see as it were but in a Glasse, and shall wee not knowe one an other in the life to come, where all ignoraunce shall bee done away?

I believe that we shall know each other in heaven.

Dives in hell knew Abraham and Lazarus in heaven. "In the 16. of Luke, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe Abraham and Lazarus in heauen. Then I reason thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do know those that be in heauen so farre about them: how much more shall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and sellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heauen? We reade also in the 17. of Matth. howe our Sauiour Christ, meaning to shewe vnto his disciples, Peter, Iames, and Iohn, as it were a shadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, and therefore hee is sayde to bee transsigured before them, and his face did shine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them Moyses and Elias, sayeth the text.

"Then it followeth, that if the Disciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in shadowe or glimmering of the loyes of heauen, did knowe Moyses and Elias, the one whereof dyed almoste two thousande yeares before, the other not much lesse, howe much more shall week nowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

Much more shall we know one another in the life to come.

away, and we in the full fruition and possession of all the ioies & glory of heaven? This is my fait, this is my hope, & this is my truft; this hath [leaf C 2, back] the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of God. And (good Lord) that hast begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I befeech thee, & strengthen me that I may perseuere therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and faujour." And the had no fooner made an end of this most heauenly When she had confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; ended, Satan was ready to whom she mightily repulsed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iefus, on whom the conftantly beleeued. And wheras before the looked with a fweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now upon the sudden, she bent the browes, the frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, . She scowld at stearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vggle-him. fome, and displeasant thing, she brust foorth into these speaches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were fcornefully and difdainfully, in contempt of him to whom the fpake.

him, and scornd

A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her foule, and of her valiant conquest in the fame, by the power of Christ.

How my Wife abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords feruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou hast no part nor portion in Hell-hound, me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chosen and elected in Christ to

euerlasting faluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maift get the[e] packing, thou damned be off! dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. what dost thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a finner, and therefore shall be damned: I confesse in deede that I am a finner, and a grieuous finner, both by originall finne, and Tho' I am a actuall finne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therfore, Satan, I bequeath my finne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to saue [leaf C] finners (as he faith himselfe) and not the righteous: 'behold the

Danmed dog,

sinner.

yet Christ's blood has cleansd me.

All my sins are pardond for his name's sake.

Deceitful devil,

Christ has paid my debt to God for me.

Firebrand of Hell, avoid!

[leaf C 3, back]
Pack! Or I will
call on Michael.

Lambe of God (faith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out: 'the blood of Iesus Christ doth cleanse vs from al finne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleeue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iesus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Christs righteousnesse is my righteousnesse, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and fatiffaction for all my finnes. But what fayest thou more, Satan? Dost thou aske me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable finner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being affured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names fake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heavie laden with the burden of finne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Christes armes were spred wide open (Satan) vpon the Croffe (with that she spred her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent finners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to present my selfe before his footstoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Christ his sake. What more, Satan? Doest thou say, it is written, that God wil reward enery one according to his works, or according to his deferts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Christs righteousnesse is my righteousnesse, his works my works, his deferts my deferts, & his precious blood a full fatiffaction for all my Oh, but God is a just God, thou saiest, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iustice punish me for my sinnes, which hee hath punished alreadie in his sonne. It is against the law of iustice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debter vnto God the Father, but Christ Iesus hath paied the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the instice of God to require it againe. And therefore avoid, Satan, avoid, thou firebrande of hell! avoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promised to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therfore, thou daftard, auoid, thou cowardly fouldier, remooue thy fiege, and yeelde the field wonne, & get thee packing, or else I wil cal vpon my grandcaptaine Christ Iesus, that valiant Michael, who beate thee in heaven.

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had fcarcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell suddenly into a fweet fmiling laughter, faying, "Now is he gone, now is like a beaten he gone! do you not fee him flie like a cowarde, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath loft the fielde, and I have wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or strength, but by the power and might of Iefus Chrift, who hath fent his holy Angels to keepe me." fpeaking to them that were by, she faid, "would God you saw but what I fee! Do you not fee infinite millions of most glorious Angels stand about me, with firie charets ready to defend me, as they did the good prophet Elizeus. These holy Angels, these ministring spirits, are appointed by God to carrie my foule into the kingdome of heauen, where I shall behold the Lord face to face, and shall fee him, not with other, but with these same eyes. Now am I happie and blessed for euer, for I have fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ By Christ's haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth shall I neuer taste won the victory. neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miserie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduersitie, whatsoeuer. From henceforth is laid up for mee a crowne of life, which Christ shal give to those that feare him. And as I am now in possession thereof by hope, so shall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by presence of my soule, and hereafter of my bodie also, when the Lord doth please." Then she spake softly to herselfe as followeth. "Come, Lord Iefus, come, my loue Iefus, oh fende thy purfeuant (fweet Iefus) to fetch me! Oh (fweet Iefus) strengthen thy feruant, & keepe thy promise!" Then sang she divers Psalmes most sweetly, and She sang Psalms with a chearefull voice: which done, she defired her husband that the 103. Pfalme might bee fung before her to the Church. And further, fhee defired him that hee woulde not mourne for her, alledging the She bade me not Apostle Paul, where he saith: 'Brethren, I woulde not have you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that she was not in case to be mourned for, but rather to bee reioyced for: for that shee should passe (the saide) from earth to [leaf C 4] heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to Cherubins and Seraphins, yea to God himselfe. After which wordes, very suddenly, the feemed, as it were, greatly to rejoyce, and to looke very cheere-cheerfully,

She saw millions of Angels about

might she had

She calld on Jesus to fetch

mourn for her.

208 A Christall Glasse for Christian women.

and welcomd

commended her spirit to her God,

and then slept sweetly in the Lord.

She was but 18 when she died. May we all follow her example!

fully, as though the had feene fome glorious fight: and lifting vp her whole body, and ftretching foorth both her armes, as though fhee would imbrace fomething, faid: "I thanke my God, through Iefus Christ, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my foule out of prison! Oh sweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, fweet death! neuer was there any guest so welcome to mee as thou art! Welcome, the meffenger of euerlasting life: welcome, the doore and enterance into everlasting life: welcome (I say), and thrise welcome, my good Iayler! do thy office quickly, and fet my foule at libertie. Strike (fweet death), strike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy bleffed hands I commend my fpirit! Sweete Iefus, into thy bleffed hands I commend my fpirit! Bleffed spirit of God, I commit my soule into thy handes! Oh most holy, bleffed, and glorious Trinitie, three persons and one true euerlasting God, into thy bleffed handes I commit both my foule and my bodie:" at which wordes her breath staied; and so, neither mouing hand nor foot, she flept sweetly in the Lord.

Thus hast thou heard (gentle Reader) the discourse of the vertuous life and christian death of this faithfull servaunt of God, Mistresse Katherine Stubbes: which is so much the more wonderfull, in that she was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when she departed this life. The Lorde giue vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to those vnspeakeable

ioyes wherin she now resteth, through Iesus Christ our Lorde; to whome with the Father, and the holy Ghost, be all honour, glorie, praise, dominion, and thankesgiuing, both nowe and euermore. Amen.

FINIS. P. S. Gent.

EXTRACTS FROM

THE 1610 EDITION OF

PHILIP STUBBES'S

PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,

WITH

A SHORT TREATISE

OF

PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,

WRITTEN IN 1592.

[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume, $3\frac{15}{40}$ inches high by $2\frac{4}{5}$ inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too; all the leaves are borderd.

Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S PATHWAY.

ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

Blank. ¶ 2. Title. The Epistle Dedicatorie. ¶ 3. The Epistic D ¶ 8. † The Preface.

Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meat.

Thankesgiuing after meate.

A 3, bk. Another prayer before meate. A 4, bk. An other praier after meate.

A 5. A praier before meate.

A 6. A thankesgining after meate.

A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the foure Tearmes of the yeare. (Λ 8, back, blank.)

B 1. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons.

B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning.

Meditations in the morning.

B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne.

A praier for the morning.

C 4. Precepts at thy going foorth of thy Chamber.

C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.

C 5, bk. A praier to be said at the washing of ones face and

Meditations before and at dinner. C 6.

A praier before meate.

Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the table.

D 1. + A Thanks-giving to God after dinner.

Meditations after dinner.

D 3, bk. Directions how to behaue thy selfe before and after

Supper.
D 4, bk. A thankes giuidg [so] to God before Supper.

D 6, bk. A thankesgiving to God after Supper.

D 7. Directions of Christian behauiour after Supper.

† Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.

E 2, bk. † A Prayer when cometh vpon one.

E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe.

E 6, bk. + Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe.

E 7. † A Praier to be said at the breake of the day.

E 8. † Meditations at the appearing of the day.

F 1. † A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed.

F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed.

F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes.

† Christian directions for the Morning

F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / Treatise, of praiers | and Supplica- | tions; | COMPRISING | a briefe summe of all such | things as we stand | in need of in this | life. | By the same Author. P.S. Gent. / (F.5, back, blank.)

† A Praier for the Morning.

F 7. + A Prayer for the Eucling
F 8, bk. + A generall confession of our sary to be said at all times.

G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Iesus our sauiour, with desire of forgiuenes.

G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost.

G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes1 Maiestie.

G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maiestrates and rulers in the common wealth.

H 2. A praier for the increase of faith. H 3, bk. A praier against the deuill, the world and the flesh.

H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand.

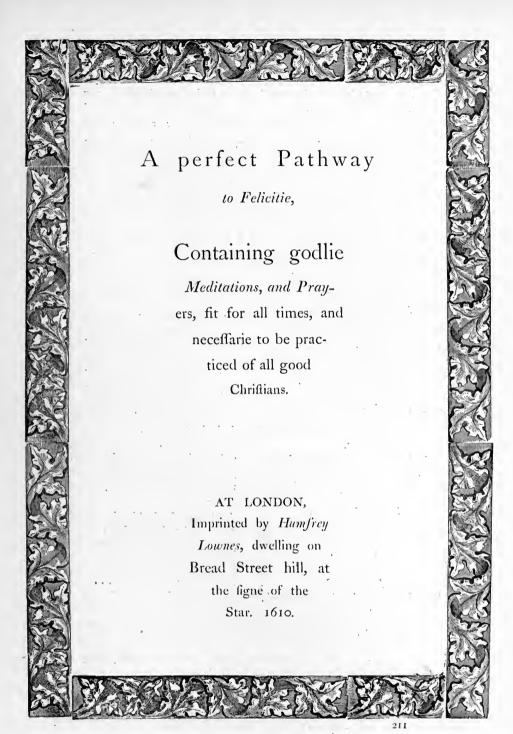
H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie liuing.

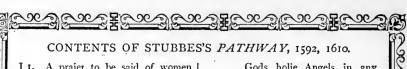
H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God.

1 Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters her to his, and [our souereigne] 'Ladie and governesse' to 'Lord and gouerner.'

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]





- I I. A praier to be said of women with childe.
- I 3. A praier for godly wisedome.
 I 4, bk. A praier against all kind of enemies.
- I 6. A praier when one taketh a iourney in hand.
- I 7, bk. A thanksgiuing to God after ones returne home from his iourney.
- K I. A praier for euerie subject of a common wealth.
- K 2, bk. A praier to be said of those that be vnmaried.

 K 2 bk. A praier to be said of those
- K 3, bk. A praier to be said of those that are maried.
- K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of housholds.
- K 7. A praier to be said of seruants. K 8. A praier to obtaine the grace
- and fauour of God.

 L 2. A praier to God for a quiet conscience.
- L 3, bk. A praier for a true and lively faith,
- L 4, bk. A praier for love and charitie.
- L 6. A praier against pride, and for humilitie.
- L 7. A praier for a good name.
- L 8, bk. A praier for patience in sicknesse.
- M 2. A praier for the assistance of

Gods holie Angels in any extremitie or neede whatsoeuer.

- M 3, bk. A praier against sudden death.
- M 5. A praier for one that is sicke, and at the poynt of death.
- M 7, bk. A praier for those that be rich and wealthie.
- N I, bk. A praier for those that bee poore and needie.
- N 3. A praier for the increase and preservation of the fruits of the earth.
- N 4, bk. A praier against couetousnes and auarice.
- N 6, bk. A praier to be said before the reading, studying, or hearing of Gods word.
- N 8. A praier against swearing.
- O I, bk. A praier against drunkennesse.
- O 3. A praier against slouthfulnesse and idlenesse.
- O 4. A praier for those that are persecuted for the truth.
- O 6, bk. A praier for Godly wisedome. O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mind-
- full to die.

 P 1, bk. † A Thanks-giuing to God for all his graces and blessings bestowed ypon vs.

The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlasting GOD bee all / honour, glorie, prayse do/lminion power, and thanks/giuing for euermore. Amen.

> Vni Deo & trino sit, omnis gloria

> > FINIS.

[Ornament.]

1610

and euerlasting GOD, be all honour, glorie, praise, might power maiestie and dominion, now and for euer. Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

O Singular louer of vs, Christ Iesu, O Bridegroome to whom thy Church is most deare, and which hast promised that thou wilt neuer faile her: increase her;...

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Prayse and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be vsed by the sicke (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). Finis. (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

3 sign. P 5, back.

¹To the right worshipfull, vertuous, and godlie Gentlewoman, Mistresse Katherine Milward, most faithful spouse to the no lesse worshipfull, wise and religious Gentleman, Master William Milward. Esquire, P. S. wisheth

all happie fuccesse in this life, with increase of worship, and in the life to come, eternal felicity in the Heauenly Hierachie by Iesus Christ.



Wo things peraduenture (Right Worshipfull) may be maruailed at, concerning this little book: ²as namely, first, why I have published it, considering the great number of Books, either of the same, or verie like Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly, wherfore I have dedicated it rather vnto 3 you then to anie other. For the sirst, I protest before God, who knoweth the secrets

of all hearts, I have not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or ⁴gaines, nor yet for any other private respect of my owne whatsoever; but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good friends, and alliance also, who yet being living, & the onely man that hath borne the whole charges of the impression thereof, both can, & I know will (if need should require) instifice the same against any that shold ⁵averre the contrarie. And for the second, when I considered with my selfe how much bound I have alwaies beene to your worship

sign. ¶ 3.
 sign. ¶ 3, back.
 sign. ¶ 4, back.

ener fince the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you have ever conceined of me, & fundrie other your courtefies Shewed towards me, far beyond my deferts or expectation: As also when I callled to remembrance your feruent zeale which you have ever born to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful indevour to put the same in practife, & to frame your life therafter: Briefly, when I remembred your maruailous humilitie & lowlinesse of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlenesse, and affability, your ²rare continencie and integritie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembred these things, with many mo, I doe no leffe (having fo fit an occasion given me by reason of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your 3 worship, though not as a guerdon answerable to your deserts, yet as an infallible testimonie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwil and grateful heart And albeit that in respect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I have not findied to be curious), it may feeme to be base and contemptible, and such as is farre vnworthy to bee' exhibited, to so wife, so discreet, so godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heavenly and divine, I most humbly befeech you to accept therof, and to permit the same to go forth to the view of the worlde vnder the gard of your protection, and to patronize both the author & the booke against the poysoned tongues of railing Phormions & flouting Momusses, to whom all good things are had in disidaine. And in so doing, both God shall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints shall praise God in you, & I my selfe (besides that I will not rest unthankfull to you to the death) will not cease also to pray to God And thus I most humblie take my leave.

6 Chamber, this prefent

tenth of Aprill.

1592.

Your Worthips in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

¹ sign. ¶ 5. ⁴ sign. ¶ 6, back.

² sign. ¶ 5, back. ⁵ sign. ¶ 7. 3 sign. ¶ 6.:
 6 sign. ¶ 7, back.

¹Precepts at thy going forth of thy Chamber..

HEN thou goest foorth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou hast anie), giving him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for civilitie requireth it). And when thou commest into the presence of thy Parents, not onely salute

them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, ² and desire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou hast so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy selfe.

Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.



S ye filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by ye element of water; so is my bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not

onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghoft, but also am sealed up to eternall faluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

A praier to be faid at the wafhing of ones face & hands.

Oft gratious God, and louing Father, who hast given thy onelie begotten Son Iesus Christ, to suffer death vppon the Crosse for my redemption; graunt, I most intirely beseech thee for his sake that as this my hodie is now washed

befeech thee, for his fake, that as this my bodie is now washed

1 sign. C 4.

2 C 4, back.

3 C 5.

4 C 5, back.

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, fo my body and foule maie both bee purified & purged from all vucleannesse and filthinesse of finne, thorow the efficacie of thy fonne his most precious bloud. These things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren.....

Directions how a Christian fhould behaue himselfe at the Table.

Hen thou commest to the Table, shew all obeysance and curtesse, behaving thy selfe modestlie, humbly, and soberly, as in the presence of God. Eate so much as nature requireth, not how much insatiable appetite desireth. Be spare, as well of hande as

tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleasant toward all men. Let all thy communication bee seasoned with salt, as the Apostle speaketh, that it maie give grace to the hearers, remembring that wee must give accounts at the daie of indgement for everie idle word. Vie not to laugh much, to iest, or scoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things so demeanor thy selfe, that thou maist neither dishonour thy God, nor give either offence or euill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, give God thanks as followeth.

A Thankf-giuing to God after dinner.

Oft holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thankes in 2the name of Iefus Chrift for all thy benefites and bleffings in mercy beflowed vpon mee euer fince I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praife thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, fo now prefentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; befeeching thee to feede my foule likewife with the 1 sign. D. 2 sign, D, back.

celeftiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou haft given vnto mee the vse of these learthly creatures in great measure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to give vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord.

²A Thanks-giuing to God before Supper.



Ather of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I beseech thee, from the throne of thy heauenly palace vpon vs thy humble servants, albeit most wretched and miserable sinners: fanctisse both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holic Spirite, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: give them strength to

nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou hast appointed, & as thou seeft to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praie thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall Manna of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious bloud of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or excesse. Remember that nature is satisfied with a little; and what is more then will suffice nature is superfluous; and one daie thou shalt be accomptable for it to the great Iudge of all the earth. Thy body beeing satisfied, forget not to relieue the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesse thee, & multiplie thy store. When Supper is ended, giue god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwise, as the spirit of God shall illuminate thy heart.³

1 sign. D 2.

² sign. D 4, back.

3 Ends D 6, front.



A perfect Pathway

¹A Thankf-giuing to God after Supper.



H Lord our God, most gratious & holy father, we render all praise & thanks-giuing to thy soueraigne maiefty, for all thy benefites and bleffinges fo plentifully bestowed vppon vs. And namelie2 we thanke thee (holy father) for these thy good creatures, which

thou hast at this present in full measure given vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankefull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulnesse, for Iesus Christ his fake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithfull fernants, and bring vs to enerlasting life in thy good time, for thy great mercies fake in thy beloued, Amen.

Directions of Christian behaui-

our after supper.



He rest of the time after Supper, vntill thou goest to bedde, ³ spend with thy familie, either in singing of Pfalmes and spirituall fongs, finging and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or elfe in conferring, reasoning, disputing, and talking of the word

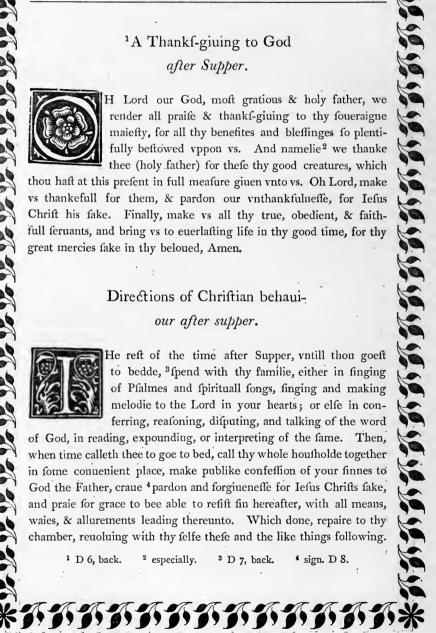
of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the same. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole housholde together in some convenient place, make publike confession of your sinnes to God the Father, craue 4 pardon and forgiuenesse for Iesus Christs sake, and praie for grace to bee able to refift fin hereafter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, revoluing with thy felfe these and the like things following.

1 D 6, back.

² especially.

³ D 7, back.

4 sign. D 8.



Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.

Hen thou art come into thy chamber, call to ¹thy remembrance what euill thou haft committed that daie paft, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou shouldest haue done, and haft not done. If thou

haft feene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and praie for grace to follow it. If againe thou haft feene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy felfe, and pray for grace to eschewe This done, kneele 2downe by thy bed fide, confesse thy fins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iefus Christ his fake, and praie to him to protect thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghoftly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy felfe. 'Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglefome carkaffe doe I beare about with me, that for very shame 3 had neede to bee couered with garments!' Thinke also from what an excellent state and dignity (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. thinke, that if thy apparell were given thee for verie necessities fake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason hast thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his fores? Thinke also, that as thou 4 canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so caust thou not without fhame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuested with the garment of Christs righteousnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou puttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, fo shalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou rifest againe, put off and lay away the earthly mansion of thy ⁵body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When fleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

¹ D 8, back. ² sign. E. ³ sign. E 1, back. ⁴ sign. E 2.

A Prayer when fleepe commeth vpon one.



Oft mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of chaunge, feeing thou haft appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the ¹ night for him to take his naturall rest, I beseech thee that as my

bodie hath beene occupyed and employed this daie in the labours of this life, fo it maie receive by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I have to live, to the praise and glorie of thy bleffed name: and in this my fleepe defend mee, I befeech thee, from all perilles 2 and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleafure to make my foule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare fonne Iefus Christ vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phanta⁸sticall apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemie, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie fuggestions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my foule, refting vnder thy diuine protection, may be fafe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoeuer, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iesus Christ, my onelie Sauiour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com⁴ mitting both thy bodie and foule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets closets and prinie chambers of thine heart, fearch euery place, and ranfacke euerie corner; and if thou findest anie filthinesse or vncleannesse therein (as indeed thou shalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus 6 with thy felfe; 'My bed dooth represent vnto me my

¹ sign. E 3. ² sign. E 3, back. ³ sign. E 4. ⁴ secretest? or secret ⁵ E 4, back. ⁶ E 5.

LANGLEMENT LED XLANGL

graue, wherein I must once sleepe; and the clothes, the earth, wherewithall I shall shortlie be couered in my sepulchre or graue: And as these sleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, so shall the wormes eate and consume the frame of my bodie, in the dust of the earth, when the Lord doth please.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the daystarre to appeare, thinke thus; 'As now the morning commeth on, and the daie starre beginneth to appeare, so shall Christ Iesus, the true morning star, shew himselfe at the time appointed of his Father, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou hearest the crowing of the Cocke, the sounding of belles, or anie other noise whatsoeuer, think alwaies, that thou hearest the Trumpe of the Archangell sound, saying, 'Arise, you dead and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakest out of sleepe, praie to this effecte as followeth.

A Praier when one awakes out of fleepe.



Ercifull father, grant that as thou hast now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall sleepe, so thou wilt also vouchsafe to raise me vp from the sleep of sin, and in the general resurrection of all sflesh, to eternall life, thorow

Iefus Chrift my only Sauiour & Redeemer.

⁴Christian directions for the Morning.



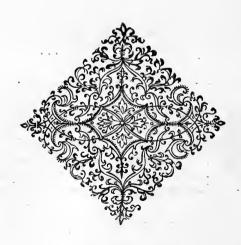
Hen thou hast attired thyselfe decently and comely, not pompously, nor proudly, goe forth of thy ⁵chamber, and if thou beest a master of a househoulde, call thy familie together, confesse your sinnes, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, pray for grace to

refift finne hereafter, prayse God for all his benefites and bleffings in mercie bestowed vppon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beseeching him to protect you that day, and to bleffe all your workes and labours. And signally, desire him

¹ E 5, back. ² E 6. ³ E 6, back. ⁴ on sign. F 3. ⁵ F 3, back. ⁶ sign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghoftly whatfoeuer, and to bring you to euerlafting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Iefus Chrift. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with fingle eie and good confcience, to the praife of him that made thee; being affured that as in mercie hee will not leaue the least 1good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; fo in iuffice hee will not leaue the least euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Christ Iesus our Sauiour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghost our Comforter and Sanctisser, three persons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praise, dominion & thanksgiuing for euermore. Amen.

¹ F 4, back.



A SHORT

Treatife, of praiers
and Supplications;

COMPRISING

a brief fumme of all fuch things as we stand in need of in this life.

By the fame Authour,
P. S. Gent.

¹A Praier for the Queenes Maieftie.



E render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh ²king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchedsafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the fame thy feruant, our fouereigne Ladie and gouernesse. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy ³holie spir[i]te, that shee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to ye setting forth of thy glorie, ye maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduauncement of true vertue and godlines, the supplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kindle in her a feruent zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatfoeuer is defective or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the 4true & fincere discipline & gouernment of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practises, either of papists, Atheists, or any other sectaries whatsoeuer. Giue her godlie, wife, & religious counsailers, such as may respect onlie thy glorie, that her maiestie ruling acording to thy wil, they counselling according to the inspiration of thy holy spirit, 5 and we her fubiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receive the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierusalem, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord, Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back.
² sign. G 7.
³ G 7, back.
⁵ G 8, back.



A Prayer for a Competent & a necessary living.

Lord our GOD, most gratious & holie father, 1 whose loue towardes men in Christ Iesus is infinite and ynspeakeable, & whose tender care ouer him is such, that thou hast promised that whofoeuer beleeweth in thee, dependeth vppon thy prouidence, and feeketh his reliefe at thy bleffed handes, thall neuer want anie good thing, eyther necessarie for soule or bodie: Therefore, most gracious Father, I thy fielie creature, of my felfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakednesse 2it selfe, most intirelie beseech thee, for Iesus Christ his fake, that thou wilt giue vnto mee a competent and a necessarie liuing, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppresse mee not, nor that I be not drawen to attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes for the maintenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) bleffe my ftore, and replenish my basket with thy blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficiall liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my felfe in the exercife & practife of good

⁴A praier to be faid of those that be vnmaried.

workes, to the reliefe of them that have neede, and the fetting forth of

thy honor & glory, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord.

H Lord our God, in as much as thou hast commaunded in thy blessed word, the word of truth, that wee, abstaying from all whooredome, and fornication, and vicleannesse, should keepe our vesselses in holinesse, and not in ye filthy lusts of the slesh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beseech thee ther fore to give mee grace to perform this thy most holy Commandement, and graunt that I neuer pollute nor desile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vicleannesse. And because, O Lord, chastitie of the bodie

sign. H 6.
 sign. H 6, back.
 sign. H 7.
 sign. H 7.
 K 3.

is nothing, without the continencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I befeech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart; that I, ban-ifhing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of ¹my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & foule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & ftrength of the pretious bloud of Iefus Chrift, Amen.

A Prayer to bee faid of those that be maried.

Oly Father, wee are taught by thy facred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after 2thou hadft created all things, the last of all other thou createdst man, & woman of a rib of his fide, giving her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy bleffing, faying: 'Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth: 'I give thee most humble & harty thanks, for that it hath pleafed thee to call me to the honorable flate of mariage. And I most heartily befeech thee that we may liue together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of 3 our lives. Give vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy fake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielofie, hatred, malice, and con_ tention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate togither, and become, as it were, but one bodie; fo vouchfafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doues, we may live togither in chastitie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, 4 without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to blesse vs with children, giue vs grace to bring them vp in fuch holy exercises, discipline, and learning, as thou requireft of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy bleffing, we may alwaies haue sufficient to maintain our estates withall in thy holie feare; that wee be not chargeable to others, but liuing forth of debt 5 and

sign. K 3, back.
 sign. K 4.
 sign. K 4, back.
 sign. K 5, back.

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praise & glorie of thy blessed name, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, to



Hou haft commanded (oh gratious Lord God) by thy bleffed Apostle, that masters 1 should intreate their feruants gently and courteously, putting away all bitternesse and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iuftice, knowing that thou art our common

to Felicity.

227

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praife & glorie of thy bleffed name, thorow Iefus Chrift our Lord, to whom be praife and glorie for euermore, Amen.

A Prayer to be faild of those that be masses of households.

Hou hast commanded (oh gratious Lord God) by thy blefsed Apostle, that masters ¹should intreate their feruants gently and courteously, putting away all bitternesse and institute and institute their feruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterprise anie vurighteous thing against them, but so to execute my authoritie ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and ²master of vs all, and respected no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the same vnto them, that a good Pastor is to his slocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteousfiese and holinesse in conuersation, that they and I togither, in thy good time, may all inherite euerlasting life, by Chrift our Lord, Amen.

3 A Prayer to be said of

Seruants.

Lord our GOD, seeing thou hast ordayned fundry degrees and states of men in this life, and amongst them all hast appointed mee to bee a Seruant, giue me grace, I beseech thee, to serue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy blessed will, not with eye feruice as 5 studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singlenesses of studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singlenesses of studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singlenesses of seeing thorows the perswaded that in feruing them, I serue thee, and of thee shall receiue my reward. Giue mee grace to demeane ¹ sign. K 6.

* Appointest, orig. * K 6, back. * sign. K 7, back.

* Sign. K 7, back. master in heauen: graunt me grace, therfore (good Lord), so to order my feruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterprise anie vnrighteous thing against them, but so to execute my authoritie ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and 2 master of vs all, and respectest no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the same vnto them, that a good Pastor is to his flocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteousnesse and holinesse in conversation, that they and I togither, in thy good time, may all

Lord our GOD, feeing thou haft ordayned fundry degrees and ftates of men in this life, and amongst them all hast appointed 4 mee to bee a Seruant, gine me grace, I befeech thee, to ferue

in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy bleffed will, not with eye feruice as 5 ftudying to pleafe men, but with all finceritie and finglenesse of heart, as feeking to glorisie thee: being thorowlie perfwaded that in feruing them, I ferue thee, and of thee shall receive my reward. Give mee grace to demeane

my felfe faithfully, iuftlie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to inrich my felfe by picking, stealing, imbezeling, purloyning, or conueying anie thing from anie man by any finister practice ¹ whatsoeuer; but so to behaue my felfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be glorified, and my faluation in Christ Iesus sealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, Amen.....

²A Prayer in the time of Peftilence.

T is no marueile, O most righteous Father, that the elements of this worlde are fierce against vs, sometime with earthquakes, sometime with tempests & lightnings, sometimes with ouerslowing 3 of Seas & Riuers, some-

time with peffilent concourfes of the heauenlie lights, and fometime with corruption of the infected agre: for we do commonly abuse thy gifts. We acknowledge, that even in this case also the creatures ferue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect fo oftentimes. Also wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou callest vs backe from 4the trust of this world with gentle correction, and drawest vs to the defire of the euerlasting life. We humblie beseech thee to remember thy mercy euen in thy wrath, and fauorablie to withdrawe the afflictions which thou hast laid vpon vs in thy displeasure. The infection of ye pestilence shall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our felues from the infection of finne. But both those things are of thy gift, O 5 Father of mercie, namelie, as well to haue our mindes free from the poylon of finne, as to haue our bodies fafe from ye infection of ye plague. Such as haue faftened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to fuch shifts as these: namely, some to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and fome to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully perfuaded that no 6 man can escape thy hand

¹ sign. K 8.

² On sign. T 5.

³ sign. T 5, back.

⁴ sign. T 6.

⁵ sign. T 6, back.

⁶ sign. T 7.



229

beleeue there is no fuch fafetie as to refort to thy felfe, and to flie from thy inflice to thy mercie, as to the furest and safest sanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forsakest them that put theyr trust in thy goodnesse; vnder whose protection, even they that dye are safe. To thee therefore bee praise for evermore, Amen.

FINIS.



¹A praier to be faid of all fuch as be maiestrates and rulers in the common wealth.



Orasmuch as it hath pleased thee, oh eternall God, ruler of all kinges and 2 kingdoms, to conflitute and appoint me (though altogither vnworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my foueraigne, I befeech thee, giue me grace, fo to execute my office, and minister instice in the common wealth, that I

maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, oppresse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may judge juftly³, neither fauoring ⁴the rich nor mightie for defire of gifts, nor yet dispising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the advauncement of thy holie word, and Gospell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that fweete haruest fong⁵, 'well, good feruant, thou hast beene faithfull in small thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the joy of the Lord'. Oh Lord, let it be fo, for Iefus Chrift his fake. Amen.

1 From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

2 sign. H.

3 Compare 2 Henry IV, Act V. sc. i.:-

Davy. I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

Shal. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an

arrant knave on my knowledge.

Davy. I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir: but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

Shal. Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy

Exit Davy.]

HI, back.

⁵ sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

NOTES.

p. vi, l. 10: whose gawld backes are tutched. "But what o' that? Your Maiestie, and wee that have free soules, it touches vs not: let the gall'd iade winch: our withers are vnrung." Hamlet, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, Trag. p. 268, col. 2,

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xii, veluers; p. 32, velvet.—Cotgrave distinguishes between velvet and velure; "Velours; m. Veluet . . . Tripe de Velours, Valure, Mocke Veluet, Fustian an Apes. Tripe: f. . . Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, Fustian an Apes;" and as Harrison says that wool was used for vellures, the stuff must have been a kind of 'velvet-pile cloth' like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. 'Velveteen' and 'cotton velvet' have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also velours in silk, cotton and wool (Littré):-

"In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath beene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers have reaped no small commoditie" (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, Description of England, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

"at Westminster . . the bragging velure-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o' the tilters had ridden 'em." 1607. Webster & Dekker's Northward Ho, Act II. sc. 1, p. 257, col. 1, of Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On Canions, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of velvet, velure, Mr Henry Nicol says:—" The second v of velvet is an alteration of w (velwet, Promptorium), and this of u (feluet Launfalmisprinted in Stratmann felvet-veluet, Chaucer). That the u of Mid. E. veluet formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

> And co | with ve | lu-et | tes blew | e (Squire's Tale, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling velowetys. Mid. E. veluet comes from Old Fr. veluet (Roquefort-who misprints velvet), also spelt velluet (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as velluctum. Veluet corresponds to a hypothetical Latin villūtittum, being a diminutive of Fr. velu, hypothetic Lat. villūtum (Ital. velluto, Span. velludo), which shows the usual Fr.

232 Notes on p. viii to p. 1. Velure, Velvet, &c.

loss of Lat. single t between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. villus. Another diminutive of velu is Old Fr. vellueau (Roquefort, with quotation), later veluau and veluyau, latinised velludellum, and

corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. villūtellum.

"E. vellure (Shakspere velure, Cotgrave-probably by misprint-valure) is probably Early Mod. Fr. veleure (Cotgrave), meaning 'shag;' so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either velëure (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. villātūram, with the common Fr. suffix, or veloure (-ore, -ure, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. villoram, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. vellora ('knot or lump taken off woollen cloth'). If E. vellure existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. velëure, as if from veloure it would have been vellour in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. veloure had become veleure, either F. form (with eu = Late Mod. F. eu, or eu = Late Mod. F. u) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. vellure comes from Mod. Fr. velours, as the s of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. Velours is a Mod. form for Old Fr. velous, which is Lat. villosum (Ital. velloso, Span. velloso); Froissart's velus is possibly influenced by velu, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with Lus. The Mod. Burgundian veleur, velor, quoted by Littré, is probably velours in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. veleure; an exactly parallel example of inserted r in the termination ous is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch jaloersch ('jealous'), which presupposes a Fr. jalours for jaloux (Lat. zēlosum)."

p. xii: the inferiour sorte onely. See p. 237, &c., below.

p. I. Anatomie of Abuses. Compare Thomas Nashe's "The Anatomie of Absurditie: Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentiously, or are addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie." . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. Hazlitt's Handbook. See the evils of Elizabeth's and James's time described in the play of No-Body and Some-Body, 1606, printed in Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives' whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, pursecutting, &c.

p. 1. Abuses.—See in S. Rowlands's A Fooles Bolt is soone shot, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

" Certaine common abuses

Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne:
A common seller, and a common buyer,
Are turned common swearer, common lyer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made
A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade:
A¹ common Thiefe, in Newgate common Iayle,
Of Tyborne common hye-way cannot fayle:
A common Vag'rant, should by law be stript,
And by a common Beadle soundly whipt:
A common Scould, her furious heate must coole:
Wash'd by her diuing in a Cucking stoole:
A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaue,
Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue;
A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,
A common Companyon² for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his Looke to it: for Ile Stabbe ye, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11: who so sitteth at home. Cp. Shakspere, Two Gentlemen of Verona, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1:

"Home-keeping-youth, haue euer homely wits.
Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes
To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,
I rather would entreat thy company
To see the wonders of the world abroad,
Then (liuing dully sluggardiz'd at home)
Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. A plesant & famous Iland. Cp. Shakspere in Rich. II, "This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, Hist. p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c.; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to Harrison, Parts I and II, and Harrison, I. p. 221, &c.; my Andrew Boorde, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11—10 from foot. Our Saviour * * * with his Taratantara. Extract from Luther's Danger of delaying Repentance quoted in the Philobiblion, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: Poumerle poump! poumerle poump! pliz! pluz! schmi! schmir!3 This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, poumerle poump! This will be the war-cry and the taratantara of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: Kir! Kir! poumerle poump!" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2: two kindes of sinne. "For sothe, synne is in two maneres: outher it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne; and venial synne is, if a

¹ Orig. Of. ² Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on. ³ schmi, schmir! in the Philobiblion. Perhaps it should be schmi schmu! like poumerle poump!—S.

Notes on pp. 27—31. Pride and Dress.

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amenisith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

p. 27. Pride. . the verie efficient cause of all euils. "thanne is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches: as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Coueitise, to commune vnderstondynge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, Group I, l. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.

p. 28, l. 13. Pride is tripartite. Chaucer, in his Parson's Tale—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—I. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds: I. within man's heart; II. without; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leefsel (portico, verandah) atte Taverne is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the Parson's Tale, Ellesmere MS.)

p. 28. Pride, &c.—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—

"A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical."—Secondhand-book Catalogue.

p. 29. Dame Nature. "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.

p. 31. Other nations dress. Compare in Andrew Boorde's Introduction the High German's 'I wyll not chaunge my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163; the Bohemian's 'Of our apparel we were neuer nyce; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do neuer chaunge', p. 171; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions', p. 176; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashyons to Englond I do bequeue; I am content with my meane aray', p. 177; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable', p. 178.

p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 259, quoted in *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. 64.

p. 31. Pride & Luxury in England.

"Who can endure to see
The fury of men's gullets and their groins?
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared?
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces they might lack? . . . what need hath nature
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family
To see her eat?"

1625.—Ben Jonson, The Staple of News, III. ii. Works, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: new fangles:—" Cilecchi, iests, toyes, new fangles." 1598 Florio. Worlde of Wordes.

p. 33. English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles: see Harrison, I.? In The Three Ladies of London, by R. W., 1584, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 276, Lucre speaks thus of English exports and imports there:—

"Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.

Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and everything:

And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,

As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets withal,

For every day gentlewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to stall:

And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable That is slight, pretty, and pleasant: they care not to have it profitable. And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree, You must say 'jet will take up a straw: amber will make one fat: Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,' So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware, And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear."

Lucre. Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey; Such trifles as you think will please wantons best, For you know in this country 'tis their chiefest request.

Mercatore. Indeed, de gentlewomans here by so much vain toys, Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys."

1584.—R. W., The Three Ladies of London, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 306.

'Triquedondaines: f. All kind of superfluous trifles vsed, or vsually bought,

by women; hence, any trash, nifles, or paltrie stuffe.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer:—"The hard times are slowly and surely working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

236 Notes on p. 33. 'Far-fetcht and dear-bought.'

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. Fewer velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimeracks are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact."—Daily News, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. 1, United-States' Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: farrefetched and deare boughte is good for Ladyes:—
"Mendoza. What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction . . . some such anything. Some far-fet trick good for ladies, some stale-toy or other, no matter so 't be of our devising."—Marston & Webster's Malcontent, V. ii., Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes far-fet, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, "Far-fet is good for ladies." So in Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, Act IV. sc. i, "Marry, and this may be good for us ladies; for it seems 'tis far-fet by their stay." See my Tell-Troth, p. 6, l. 7, & Stafford, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly's Euphues, p. 33, 'far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.' Again:—

"Mineuer. God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I haue all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

Sir Vaughan. I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

Mineuer. Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath euery one should see, because they shal not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

Sir Vaughan. I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

Mineuer. For I ha some thinges that were fetcht (I am sure) as farre as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were good for Ladies." 1602.—T. Dekker, Satiromastix. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer's use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.

The pride of England in And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdome of heaven; it agreeth not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The carte and the carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy eth in pride him that is not of the fashion; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness: the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein." 1596.- J. Norden, Progress of Piety (Parket Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?):-"where in those days [Henry VI's] Farmers and their wines were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere gouernment, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altred: the Husbandman will be equal to the Yoman, the Yoman to the Gentleman, the Gentleman to the Squire, the Squire [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, enery one so farre exceeding the corruptions [? consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake." 1607 .-John Norden, The Surveyors Dialogue, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: his wife her perswasions. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of Tell Troth New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: some are so brasen faced & so impudent, &c. Cf. Two Gen. of Ver., II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia's round hose), and Much Ado, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: in leather. Compare Edward III, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspere, p. 1044, col. 1: "Since leathern Adam till this youngest hour."

p. 39, 1. 7: it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of.

"Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them; What want soeuer comes, doe not pawne them; For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes, He will surely keepe them in with his pawes. In thy Apparell be something clenly, Though in thy purse thou hast neu'r a penny: Men may in some measure it esteeme thee, And a farther grace happily giue thee.

Doe not seeme bace, though penilesse thou art; But looke about, of whom to get a part."

1613. - The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 15.

p. 42, l. 8 from foot: what prevayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, &c. Compare Chaucer's Gentleness in Scogan's Poem in Thynne's Chaucer, If. 380, bk, col. 1; Urry's, p. 547, col. 1; Morris's, vol. vi, p. 296.

"This firste stoke was ful of rightwisnesse, Trewe of his worde, soboure, pitous and free, Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse, Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste;

238 Notes on pp. 42-49. Men's Dress, Starch, &c.

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he, He nis not gentille, thouhe him richë seme, Al were he mytre, corone, or diademe."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

άγαθὸς δ' ἄνηρ Κάν' 'Αιθίοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενης ἔφυ

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—"Stemmata quid faciunt?" and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.'—W. Besant, in the *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspere's *Meas. for Meas.*, Tennyson's *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, &c.

- p. 43, l. 14: tagge and ragge. Compare John Partridge in The Worthie Historie of . . Plasidas, 1566, "To walles they go, both tagge and ragge, Their citie to defende," and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley's Dict. of Reduplicated Words, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.
- p. 44. Pride & Apparel. See Chaucer's Parson's Tale (Works, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on Pride, as shown "in superfluite of clotheynge" in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particolourd hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also Piers Plowman, Roberde of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, &c.
 - p. 49, l. 5: abhorring the christian povertie, &c.

"Be rich, I say; nay boy, be rich and wise!
Gold is an actious [so] mettle for the eyes.
Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,
And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare;
Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,
And many cheates, that come by many chances;
Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,
And twentie other such kind of matters.
While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,
May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,
And euery morning wash his face with teares,
And wipe his blubbered cheekes with sheualed heares.
It is a heauie sence, where coyne is wanting;
At such a time of care, friends are scanting."

1613.—The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: liquide matter which they call Starch. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, "the first inventress of yellow Starch was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at Tyburn; and with her I believe that yellow Starch, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral."—Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line: if they stand uppon their pantoffles. See notes in Tell Troth on p. 55, last line.—S.

MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167; Father Hubburds Tales at the end of Dyce's Middleton, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion. Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also movd Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his "A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing vnto vs the enuied state of our florishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreame vices of this present time, &c. &c. by W. A." he makes "The Bellie" say (sig. B. 1 & 2):—

"Why, had euer Premetheus more shapes, then the backe sutes? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments? not so variable for their matter, as changable for their fashion: to daie French, to morrowe English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, O tempora, o mores! To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for show of grauitie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that cullour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatnes, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as straite as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilities of men."

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs. 3, "Artificial Allurements," p. 295 of edition 1676:—

"Women are bad, & men worse; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. Good manners (as Seneca complains) are extinct with wantonness: in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hac vir, more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, 'Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiûm inseritur'; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed."

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and Shakspere, in *Henry VIII*, I. i. 80-85, 'many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,' &c. Also in *Histrio-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

240 Notes on pp. 49, 50. Men's Hats, &c.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (School of Shakspere, ii. 47):-

"We breake your backs? No! 'tis your rich lac'd sutes,
And straight lac'd mutton: those break all your backs."

See too in 'A Supplycacyon to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght,' 1544 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52): "Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyueryte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowemen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and comforte of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hoode / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon; than the Italyan fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon; so that there is noo ende of consumynge of substaunce . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede." See too the Note for p. 53, 1. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9: one sute for the forenoone, &c. See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50: hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.

"Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in yon)
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion:
(All are become a stiffe-necke generation)
Rose Hat-bands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe:
Great Cabbage-shooestrings (pray you bigge enough)
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to brecch it:
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kils¹)
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,
This, Harts most humbly, and his fellowes, begs."

1612. - Samuel Rowlands, The Knave of Harts (1874, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaind is described in Rowlands's *More Knaues yet?* (1611?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1874 and p. 5):—

".. now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,
Garters, Polonia Heeles, and Rose Shooe-strings,
Which somwhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .

¹ See the extract from Howes, in Harrison, Pt. II, p. 31*.

Notes on pp. 50, 51. Men's Feathers, &c. 241

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech
For the great large abhominable breech
Like Brewers Hopsackes: yet, since new they be,
Each knaue will haue them, and why should not wee?
Some Laundresse we also will entreate
For Bands and Ruffes
Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .
. hats of newest blocke" . .

p. 50. Hat & feathers, &c.

"His hat, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim, Faire outward show, and little wit within.

And all the band with feathers he doth fill, Which is a signe of a fantastick still,
As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore
A goate I doth stand before a brothell dore.
His clothes perfum'd, his fustic mouth is ayred,
His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared."

1598.—Jn. Marston, Satyre III. Works, 1856, iii. 223-4: see p. 216 too.

p. 51: feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs. The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his Father Hubburds Tales, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. "At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,2 according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep 3 as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

¹ The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tale autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

2 See p. 524, Dyce's Middleton, v: T. M.'s Blacke Booke, 1604: "apparelled in villanous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the wings and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts." 'Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.' Whalley's note on B. Jonson's Works, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

³ 'They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.' 1604.—T. M., Blacke Booke. Dyce's Middleton, v. 524.

Notes on p. 51. A Dandy's Dress in 1604.

them; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would outreach a thousand acres: moreover, they differed so far from our fold! fashioned hosel in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,2 that his back-part seemed to us like a monster; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence, 3 stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,4 which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [= embosst] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself: 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure; nor those no hangers for Derrick'; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration: upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand!' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle 5 that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accoutred in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."-T. M. The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubburds Tales, 1604.

"." Asper... But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—Return from Parnassus. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 184.

5 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned; they were

6 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned; they were commonly of silver.' Compare—

"Fastidious Brisk. . . my gray hobby . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a—oh, excellent, excellent—with the very sound of the spur.

Carlo. How! the sound of the spur?

Fast. O, it's your only humour now extant, sir: a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, II. i., Works, i. 80, col. 2; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2:

"Fungoso. I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not ginglers."

¹ breeches. 2 galligaskins. 3 See note, Dyce's *Middleton*, ii. 227.
4 "There is no fool to the satin fool the velvet fool, the perfumed fool; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindless, into a second the colour of kindless. Into a

On his French garters, should affect a humour! O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour (acted 1599). Induction, Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. 1. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "A Pleasaunt Dialogue or Disputation between the Cap, and the Head. "1564, quoted in my Thynne's Animadversions (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxi.

p. 51, l. 3: hats without bands; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.

"EPIGRAMS. Epig. 27.

Aske Humors, why a Feather he doth weare? It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare. Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke? Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke? He hath a Humor doth determine so. Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go, With Scarfe about his necke? Hat without band? It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . . Obiect, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season? His Humor answeres: Humor is the reason. If you perceive his wittes in wetting shrunke, It commetly of a Humor, to be drunke. When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore, Th' occ[a]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore: And every thing that he doth vndertake, It is a vaine, for sencelesse Humors sake."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c.: dress, & starcht ruffs & rabatos.—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece 1, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar: your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it 2; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. Guls Hornbook, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

"His faces chiefest ornament, is nose, Full furnished with many a Clarret staine, As large as any Codpiece of a Dane, Embossed curious:"

1600.—S. Rowlands, Letting of Humours Blood, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

² Lobado en el cuerpo, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, Tuber struma. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict. 'Lóbado, m. bunches in the flesh' a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minsheu's enlargd Perciuale.'

¹ See Coryat's Crudities on this. Rowlands makes it Danish:-

Notes on pp. 51, 52. Men's Bands, &c.

p. 51. Ruff & Band, &c. (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.,)

"Behold, at length in London streetes he showes.

His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting,
Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting;
It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,
When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.
Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck;
For under that fayre ruffe so sprucely set,
Appeares a fall, a falling-band forsooth!
O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth!
Jesu Maria! How his clothes appeare
Crost and recrost with lace! sure, for some feare
Least that some spirit with a tippet mace
Should with a gastly show affright his face."

1598.—In. Marston, Satyre III., Works, 1856, iii, 223,

p. 52. "Lambskin. My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress; so, being partners, they did occupy 1 long together before they were married; then was I born." 1632.—Wm. Rowley, A Woman never vexed, in Hazlitt's Dodsley, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note: Every pesant hath his stately bands. See Fairholt's capital quotations in Hist. of Costume in England, p. 216, from Lodge's Wits Miserie, 1596, and Euphues Golden Legacie, 1592. The first is, "The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit." See too in Harrison, II, 36*, what Howes says: "men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then fiue pound price; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates." The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in The Debate between Pride and Lowliness wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3: Greene, in his prose Quip for an Upstart Courtier, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27: this Quip should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. 101-2,

^{1 &#}x27;Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tearsheet says of Pistol, in the Second Part of Henry IV, "These villains will make the word 'captain' as odious as the word occupy, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." See Nares, edit. 1859 in v.; and Percy Folio MS. Loose and Humorous Songs, p. 29.

p. 53, l. 4-6: result of extravagance in dress, &c:-

"yet take.. the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods untimbered, your Pastures vnstored, and your Houses decayed: then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old." 1618.—N. Breton, The Court and Country (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting 'Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen,' by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt's Inedited Tracts, 1868, p. 95; also, Quips upon Questions, 1600, sign. G 2.

"Carlo.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, I. i., Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. I. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money: "Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet; and between three or [= and] four pound the hose; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens." 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, II. ii., Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. I.

p. 53: shirts. When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (acted A.D. 1599; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, "I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt" [he does, 14 lines lower]; and Gifford notes: "The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history," &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the City Match:

"Sir, she's a Puritan at her needle too:
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,
And are so learned, that I fear in time
All my apparell will be quoted by
Some pure instructor."

Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1590) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: "He again lights me here,—

1613.—The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answere to the same, p. 7.

^{1 &}quot;And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place:
But do not serue for onely shew of grace,
But let thy profit answere thy expence,
Least want do proue a wofull patience,
And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde,
'A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.'"

246 Notes on pp. 54-6. Men's Doublets, Canions, &c.

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had, -cuts my hatband, -and yet it was massy goldsmith's workcuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle—I had thrown off the hangers 1.. strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels catched hold of the ruffle 2 of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,-being somewhat a raw morning,-a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

- p. 54: men tender now.—Cp. Harrison, Part I, p. 337-8, "when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie... altogither of straw," &c.
- p. 55. Dublets with great bellies. "Fungoso. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, belly and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, III. i., Works, i. 101, col. I.
- p. 56. With Canions annexed.—See the Velure-canioned hobbyhorses, in Northward Ho, p. 231 above. "Canons de Chausses, Cannyons. Chausses à queuë de merlus. Round breeches with strait cannions; having in the seat a peece like a fishes tayle; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "Canions were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and canyons to the same," &c.
 - p. 56: gally-hosen; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.
- p. 56: hosen of a Marke price.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's Chronicle, quoted by Fairholt under hose, p. 512.
- p. 56: trunk hose.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other breeches than such sloppes or slivings as now many gentlemen weare:

^{1 &}quot;The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

² The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace. "Ruffle your brow like a new boot." Ib. I. i. p. 73.

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackecloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not misliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. The Passions of the Minde in generall. (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's Costume, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

"When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish slop.
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:
In euery streete where any Gallant goes,
The swagg'ring Sloppe, is Tarltons clownish hose."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from More Knaves Yet, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598—1601.—Every Man in his Humour, II. ii, Works, i. 18, col. 1.

"And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,
And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,
And see which harbors most hypocrisie."

1606.—No-Body and Some-Body, Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 353.

"The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-codbellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and Beso las manos in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonic heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, Montaignes Essayes, 1634, p. 146.

"In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion, Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion."

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's Love-Tricks, first calld The Schoole of Complement, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: nether-stockes, the stockings, as distinguisht from the hose, when the latter became breeches. See the Debate between Pride and Lowliness—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—'The neather stockes of pure Granada silke,' and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, Costume in England, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: shoes.—See Fairholt, Costume in England, p. 385-7. "Pinsnet, apparently the same as Pinson, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

248 Notes on p. 58. Men's Boots and Coats.

a shoo, pinson, socke.'—Withals' Dictionarie, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. Pinçon, pinçonnet are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: boots with wide tops.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. Guls Hornbook, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of *Gregory's Chronicle*, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thoo that made any longe pykys passynge ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pone the Sonday, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sonday, uppon payne of cursynge. And the kynge grauntyd in a conselle and in the Parlement that hyt shulde be put in excecussyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poulys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe pykys whethyr Pope wylle or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyons to make long pykys, and causyd the same men of hyr crafte that laboryd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe pykys to be trobelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of siluer and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—In. Stowe. Annales, p. 471.

p. 58. Coats, &c.

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another but faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his hose than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, English and gave him clothe, and bad him make it himself, for he changed his apparel fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

¹ See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

Notes on pp. 58, 59. Men's Dress and Selfishness. 249

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, Exp. upon Aggeus, Works (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here, Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were, For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that; Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—Andrew Boorde. The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. Cold charitie to the poore.

"Wealthye Cittizens.

You Cittizens that are of *Dines* Wealth,
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare:
Your Dogges are not so kinde to licke their sores,
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

250 Notes on pp. 59-61. Men's foreign fashions.

'For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,'
Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry:
You play with that, for which they pine and die.
Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye, B 2, back; p. 12, ed. 1872. Compare the corn-hoarder Sordido, in Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1599), I. i., Works, i. 78:

"O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.
Why, let 'em starve; what's that to me? Are bees
Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths? No."

p. 59-61. Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains. "To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used of Englishmen in their apparel, among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks; their cap must be of the French fashion; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain 1 the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman: he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. Fewel of Joy, in The Catechism, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported:—

"Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,
That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,
Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,
In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose:

¹ Martin chain: of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. "They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, Essays, p. 23.

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade, Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made: Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes hee'le reuel. And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600 .- S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, ed. 1874, Hunterian Club, p. 32.

> "Col. Tipto. . . I would put on The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat, With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat, The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set With Brabant buttons; all my given pieces Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, The New Inn, II. ii., Works, ii. 354, col. I.

"... but leather and cloth both cannot suffice us at this time, be it never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets. Against vain and sumptuous apparel But what do of these things? gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable

Mark "And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors nowa-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity! Sometimes we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught: we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens: would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, The Nosegay, in Early Works (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. Cloaks .- See Fairholt's Costume, p. 419.

p. 61. Boot-hose.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'footmantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has 'Triquehouse: f. A boot-hose; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. Rapiers : silver hilts & velvet sheaths.

"Brainworm. I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.

252 Notes on p. 62. Men's Rapiers and Daily Life.



E. Knowell. Ay, with a velvet scabbard, I think.

Stephen. Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a vilvet scabbard, coz, that's flat: I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

Brai. At your worship's pleasure, sir: nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

Stephen. I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you for it? An it had a silver hilt."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx.; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands:

"Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day? Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse? Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play? Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house? Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game, To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes Sir Revell, furnish out with Fashion, From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe; That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation, Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so;

Notes on pp. 62, 64. Men's Days. Women. 253

Drinkes drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship; Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

" A Fantasticall Knaue.

CIrra, come hither, I must send you straight To divers places, about things of waight: First to my Barber, at his Bason signe, Bid him be heere to morrow about nine: Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere: My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make About the Russet Bootes that I bespake. Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand, First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band; And point the Feather-maker not to faile To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle. . . Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade, And know if that my riding sword be made; Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat, My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great"

1613.—S. Rowlands, A Paire of Spy-Knaues, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banquetting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, A treatise against Dicing, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS, KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his merualous Combat of Contrarieties, 1588, quoted above on p. 239, says:—

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetes modest & amiable, abroade among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselues most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not all, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

Notes on p. 64. Women and their Dress.

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

"Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawling in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

"But as they are Venerian Dames, euen so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who comining into Syria, and seruing in ye Court would coure downe and become footstooles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which ye Assirians name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstooles, yea, and pillowes, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbiter betweene Iupiter and Iuno,) that there were In viero, tres amoris vnciæ, in femina, nouem, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discouring them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their bummes, their great sleeues and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their culloured hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward showes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence: but all these are your prouvocations, these are the fruites of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgment of my fare, for while you spend so freelie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faine oftentimes to fast, to be are out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault." Sign. B 1 & 2. See also Harrison, Pt. I. p. 170-2, and Latimer's address to his 'sisters, the women,' in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (Sermons, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): "Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that 'a woman ought to have a power on her head' . . But this 'power' that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our 'power' from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the 'power' as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks not tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open.. Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because.. they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts." And see his (Latimer's) Remains, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"Tactus.. five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentle-woman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsetting, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoeties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready." ? 1602 (printed 1607), Lingua, Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's Satiromastix, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"Sir Francis Ilford... if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, Miseries of Enforced Marriage. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 475.

The apparel "I pass over the light and wanton apparel of women now-a-days, partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I have not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550. - Becon, Jewel of Joy, in The Catechism, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referrd-to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: 'The Loathsomenesse of Long Haire; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

^{1 &#}x27;See Mr. Steevens's note on Othello, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's Blurt, Master Constable, 1602. Works, by Dyce, i. 280.'

Notes on p. 64. Women's Face-painting, &c.

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."-T. Hall.

" Proud Gentlewomen.

Ou gentle-puppets of the proudest size, That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions, Not caring how you do your selues disguise, In sinfull, shameles, Hels abhominations, You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade To paint your face, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe, The Moncky wast, the breeching like a Beare; The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe, The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare; You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy, That with your pride do all the world annoy,

Ile Stabbe vee."

1604 .- S. Rowlands, Look to it; for, Ile Stabbe ye, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

"The yong woman commeth, married to an old man.

The young Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth hither: and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides: a faire haire, if it be her owne: a rare face, if it be not painted; a white skinne, if it be not plastered: a full breast, if it be not bolstered: a straite backe, if it be not helped; a slender waste, if it be not pinched; a likely leg, if it be not lined; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoomakers stockes; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest." 1613.—Anthony Nixon, A Straunge Foot-Post, E 1, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. Women's coquetry & dress. - See The Pedlers Prophecie, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed Piers Plowman and wrote the Epigrams, &c., and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his Farewell to Folly, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and "Theological poets which . . . get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses" [which the writer of The Pedlers Prophecie does not].

> "Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies, Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping, With all their pleasures which they now do devise, Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping. Rich showes, strange funerals, precious abilliments, Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods, Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments, Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Earing jewels, jemmes, to set out their faces, Chaunge of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine, Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungraces, With cullours curious, to make the face shine."

'In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "GREENE IN CONCEIPT: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire Valeria of London," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career :-

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerelesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attyre not as shee would have it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his non plus, lost both his custome and the creedit of his workmanshippe" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruchio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Ebsworth, p. 1017, Bagford Ballads.

p. 64. Face-painting. - "Another point that plainly struck Shakspere, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women-the good, like the bad-painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,which latter [tho' 'tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [Love's Labours Lost], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his Sonnets also, 67, l. 5: 68, l. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays.1"-My Leopold Sh. Introd. p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"Maguerelle. . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprightning of eyes, dving of haire, sleeking of skinnes, blushing of cheekes, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleaching of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light, -by this curd, law!" 1604.- In. Marston, The Malcontent, II. iv. Works, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's Muses' Elysium (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., Works, 1793, p. 626, col. I, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supp'e wrinkles,' the paper

> "In which was painting, both for white and red; And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

¹ Two Gent. II. i. 55-58: Meas. for Meas. III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; Ham'et, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; Ant. & Cleop. I. ii. 18; Winter's Tale, IV. iii. 101, &c. SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

p. 67. women's hair and painted faces.

"These flaming heads with staring haire,

These wyers turnde like hornes of ram:

These painted faces which they weare:

Can any tell from whence they cam?

Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned lyes,
All these new fangeles did

devise."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, Hazlitt's E. E. Pop. Poetry, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68: false hair:—See Shakspere, Love's Labours lost, IV. iii. 259; Merchant of Venice, III. ii. 92-6; Henry V, III. vii. 60; Sonnets 68, l. 2-8.

"I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise, Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire; I ne're applaude aboue heauns-spangled skies, The curl d-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.

Like Northern blaste, I breathe my critick aire:

I am noe Mimyck ape; I loathe and hate Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate."

? 1611. - W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3: cappe.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine¹; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in the *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitely says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. I (see the note there):

"Our great heads

Within this city, never were in safety
Since our wives wore these little caps: I'll change 'em.
I'll change em straight in mine: mine shall no more
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake."

p. 69. Cawles :-

"These glittering cawles of golden plate.

Wherewith their heads are richlie dect,

Make them to seeme an angels mate

In judgement of the simple sect:

To peacockes I compare them right,

That glorieth in their feathers bright." (See p. 259, 271.)

1595-6.—St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses: see the woodcuts above.

"This starch, and these rebating props,
As though ruffes 2 were some rotten
house,

All this new pelfe now sold in shops,

In value true not worth a louse; They are his dogs [the Devil's],

he, hunter sharp;
By them a thousand he doth
warpe."

1595-6. - Stephen Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, iv. 253.

1 "Why, this was moulded on a porringer; A velvet dish: fie, fie! 'tis lewd and filthy: Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell, A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap."—64-7.

2 See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbes's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by poking-sticks:—

"What lack ye? What lack ye? What is it you will buy? Any points, pins, or laces, Any laces, points or pins? Fine gloves, fine glasses, Any busks or masks? Or any other pretty things?

Come, cheap 1 for love, or buy for money.
Any coney, coney-skins,
For laces, points, or pins?
Fair maids, come choose or buy.
I have pretty poking-sticks,
And many other tricks;
Come, choose for love, or buy for money."

1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon. Hazlitt's Dodsley, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbes's Anatomie about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to Captain Cox or Lancham's Letter, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in Harrison, II, 34*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. 1: wanton Sempronians.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbes was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these: 'libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sapius peteret quam peteretur.'—Catalina, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: ruffs.—These seem to have been succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"Maquarelle. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring thinges are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare falling bands; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane fall is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your falling band requires no poting sticke to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I."

1604.—In. Marston, The Malcontent, V. iii. Works, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbes's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in Green's Tu Quoque, by John Cooke.

" * * for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. Women's fashions.—"1611. Wm. Goddard. A/ Satiry/call Dialo/gve or a shar/plye-invectiue conference, be/tweene Allexander the great, and/ that truelye woman-hater Diogy/nes. Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all such

¹ Bargain, deal: A. Sax. ceapian.

gentlewomen as are not alto geather Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.) [sign. E, back] "The gossiping vviues complaint against hir riche churlishe husband

they are;

The firste, newe-fashiond cloathes I loue to weare.

Newe tires, newe ruffes; I, and newe gesture too :

In all newe fashions, I doe love to goe. The second thing I love, is this, I weene, To ride aboute to have those newe cloathes seene:

At eu'rye gossipping I am at, still, And ever wilbe, maie I have my will, For, at ons owne howse, praie, who is't cann see

Howe fyne in newe-found fash' ond tires

Vnles our husbandes: faithe! but very ferve!

And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husbands

Alas, we wives doe take but smale delight Yf none (besides our husbands) sees that sight.

"Two thinges I loue; two vsuall thinges | It ioyes our heartes, to heere an other man Praise this or that attire, that we weare

> Wee iocond are, and think our selues much graste

Yf we heare some one saie 'faire wenche, faithe, in waste

This straight-girt gowne becomes you passing well;

From other Taylors, yours doth beare the bell.

Oh, her that well cann acte-out such sweete partes,

Throwes-up the lure which wynns our verye hartes.

When we are stubborns't, then let men with skill

Rubb'es well with th' oyle of praise; and bend we will,

That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise doth soften vs soe,

As what ist then, we will not yield vnto? Meetings and brauerye were my delight."

p. 72: starch. - City Night Cap. Old Plays, vol. 11, p. 309:-

"My chambermaid

Putting a little saffron in her starch, I most unmercifully broke her head."-Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514.

p. 73: wings: starch, laundresses, &c.

"Chloe . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you? Cytheris. O Juno! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puffwings,1 and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it? who starches you? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses 2 out of the city." 1601.—Ben Jonson, Poetaster, IV. i. Works, i. 236, col. 2.

^{1 &}quot;That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up." See p. 241 above.

2 "This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tirewomen, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his Bartholomew Fair; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his Muses' Looking-Glass..."

p. 73-5. Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c. The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denounct here, though they were by Latimer:

"I think Mary had not much fine linen; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-abouts; they were not invented then; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not.. it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time: Non tortis crinibus, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially;' Non plicatura capillorum, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. Remains, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, Montaignes Essayes (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Mufs, Fanns, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them:—

"This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,

These monstrous bones that compasse armes;

These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,

With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.

He fisher is, they are his baytes,

Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, in Hazlit's E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. p. 254.

Fans. Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,
To flit away the flisking flies,
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,
When heat of summer doth arrise,
The wit of women we might praise,
For finding out so great an ease;

But seeing they are stil in hand, In house, in field, in church, in street,

Notes on p. 75. Women's tight-lacing.

In summer, winter, water, land,
In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,
I judge they are for wives such tooles,
As bables are in playes for fooles.

Busks.

The baudie buske that keepes downe flat
The bed wherein the babe should breed,
What doth it els but point at that
Which faine would have somewhat to feede;
Where bellie want might shadow vale,
The buske sets bellie all to sale...

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,
Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,
And that by shot they take most harme,
When lustie gamesters come in field,
I guess buskes are but signes to tell
Where launderers for the campe do dwell."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, 1866, p. 255 6.

Secret coats or stays .- Gosson, p. 256.

"These privie coates, by art made strong
With bones, with past, with such like ware,
Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
And now they harnest gallants are;
Were they for use against the foe,
Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay

The course that nature doth intend,
And mothers often by them slay

Their daughters young, and worke their end,²

What are they els but armours stout,

Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout?"

1 "Winifride... Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this." 1600 (ed. 1616), Jacke Drum, Act IV. Simpson's School of Shakspere, ii. 182.

² John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon's shrine.

[&]quot;Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernitious beyond imagination; who thinking a Slender-waste a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone

Notes on p. 75. Women's Stays and Hoops. 263

hoops, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

"These hoopes, that hippes and haunch do hide, And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine, As they are now in use for pride, So did they first beginne of paine: When whores in stewes had gotten poxe, This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout Might arses greate at first begin; And that when paunch of whore grew out, These hoopes did helpe to hide their sinne; And therefore tub-tailes all may rue, That they came from so vile a crue.

prison or little-ease; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse. Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunucho.

Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student: Demissis humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut graciles fient.

si qua est habitor paulo, pugilem esse aiunt, aeaucunt cibum, Tamet si bona est natura, reddunt curvatura junceos.

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that Terence lived. "Paræus where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time: Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and undecent scituation of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is by reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked."—Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transformed, or the Artificial Changeling, etc., by J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], 1650
Bulwer also denounces the Absurd, the now happily abandona custom of

swathing children in tight bands:—
"We in England are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave." 1650.—Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd; or, the Artificial Changeling, etc. J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], p. 186.

Notes on p. 75. Women's Hoops, Aprons, &c.

If barreld bums ¹ were full of ale,
They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne;
But yeelding nought but filth and stale,
No losse it were, if they did burne . . ."

Aprons.

"These aprones white of finest thrid,
So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought;
Were they in worke to save their cotes,
They need not cost so many grotes.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,
They set up whites, and shew the pinne;
It may be, aprones are like tricks,
To teach where rovers, game may winne.
Brave archers soone will find the marke,
But bunglers hit it in the darke."

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, Pleasant Quippes. Hazlitt's E. E. Popular Poetry, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. Gown layed with lace, &c.

"Girtred... O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladie, and I praise God my mother must call me 'Madam'. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake! off with this gowne! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand!.. I tell you I cannot indure it; I must bee a lady! Doe you weare your quoiffe with a London licket, your stamen peticoate with two guardes, the buffin gowne with the tuff-taffitie cape and the velvet lace? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady! I like some humors of the Citty dames well.. to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good; to die rich scarlet, black, prety; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your minsing niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticotes, and silver bodkins—Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it." 1605.—In. Marston, Eastward Hoe, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. Cost of dress.—See Rowlands's "To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan," as to how woods are cut down, and tenants rackt, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his Knaue of Spades, ? 1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

¹ An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 229), says—

[&]quot;Downe, for shame, wyth these bottell arste bummes, And theyr trappynge trinkets so vayne! A bounsinge packsadel for the devyll to ryde on, To spurre theym to sorowe and payne."—p. 238.

Notes on pp. 75-7. Parents' neglect of Children, &c. 265

p. 75. Parents to blame. "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee given to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle

pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauiour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and ietting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playing, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see: and the parents can hereat reioice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to theire children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [= lustfull] brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers have beene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chasting them for any faults and offences whatsoever? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we have such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy livers are spred about in every quarter, -but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their liuing in belly cheare and vnthriftinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion given to offend, and also good men should not have so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577. - Jn. Northbrooke, Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c. (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. Nether stockes, korked shooes, &c.

"These worsted stockes of bravest die, | To carrie all this pelfe and trash, And silken garters fring'd with gold; These corked shooes to beare them hie, Makes them to trip it on the molde: They mince it with a pace so strange, Like untam'd heifers, when they for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen,

Because their bodies are unfit, Our wantons now in coaches dash, From house to house, from street to 1595-6.—St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes

Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.

"Crispinell. Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

Tissefew. Dost not weare high corke shooes-chopines? [Cp. Hamlet, II. ii. 447.]

Crisp. Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath."-1605. Jn. Marston, The Dutch Courtezan, III. i. Works, 1856, ii. 147.

266 Notes on pp. 77, 78. Women's Shoes, Scents, &c.

p. 77, l. 2, pinsnets,? pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know pinsnet except in Stubbes. Pinson is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the Promptorium, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, les eschapins—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards Pinsons on her feete."—Household Ordinances (1791), p. 124. Mr. Herrtage has sent me the following: "A Pynson hee pedibromita e. dicitur a pes, -dis, & brico, & mitos gutta."—Catholicon. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"Pedibomita / te. anglice (a pynson)."-f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] Ortus

Vocabulorum, W. de Worde. 1532.

"Calcearium. A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, osa."—Manipulus Vocab. "Pynson, sho, caffignon."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "Cassignon: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "Soccatus. That weareth stertups or pinsons."—Elyot. "Detrahere soccos alicui: to pull off one's pinsons or his stertups."—Cooper. "Calcearium. A shoe, pinson, or socke." Calceo. To put on shoes, sockes, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot. Pomanders.

"Ist. Boy. Your only way to make a good pomander, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoine, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), Lingua. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's English Housewife, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's Works, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—Lingua, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: fragrant Pomanders. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's Webster, ed. 1871, note on the Malcontent, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, l. 2: droye.—" Droil. A drudge, or servant. North.—See Malone's Shakespeare, xviii. 42; Tusser's Husbandry, p. 256.".—Halliwell's Dict.—S.

p. 78, l. 3: pussle. — Compare "Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish," I Hen. VI, I. iv. 107, Globe ed. "Puzel or Pussel, Dolphin or Dog-fish." — Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a puzell verie beautifull."—Holinshed, ed. 1587, iii. 545/ 1/52.—S. "Then, three prety puzels az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—Laneham's Letter, my ed. p. 23.

267

p. 78: naked breasts.—See Harrison, Pt. 1. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his The Devil is an Ass, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . . "since Love hath the honour to approach These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft And rosy hand."

"Here he grows more familiar in his courtship." "Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands," &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), "Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps."—P. A. D.

"Bellula. Let pinching citty-dames orecloud their eyes:
Our brests lie forth, like conduicts of delight,
Able to tice the nicest appetite.

Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne?

Pink. Madam, not this weake, do what I can."

? 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, Histrio-Mastix, Act III. R. Simpson's School of Shakspere, ii. 50.

"Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,
And call us Night Walkers and Faries,
Go fumble old Joan, and let us alone,
And never come near our canary's:
We'll wear our breasts bare, and curl up our hair,

¹ Mr. Ebsworth's note is, 'The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many satirists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii.:—

[&]quot;O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica? Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto, Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica," etc.

^{&#}x27;Thus rendered by H. F. Cary:-

[&]quot;What wouldst thou have me say? A time to come Stands full within my view, to which this hour Shall not be counted of an ancient date, When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze.*

What savage women hath the world e'er seen, What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge Of spiritual or other discipline, To force them walk with covering on their limbs. But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak, Their mouths were op'd for howling: they shall taste Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here)."

^{&#}x27;After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet "Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders."

^{*} On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's Crudities, 1611.

Notes on p. 78. Women's bare Breasts.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people; But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more, We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeple."

> "The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodes," To the tune of London Top Knot's.—Bagford Collection, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housd in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nosegays. Topsell's Four-footed Beasts (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and alway the lesser, the more delicate and precious... There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones in their own bosomes, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's The English Gentleman, 1630, 4to, p. 28:—

"But alas; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times growne? When that Sex, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to foments of exposed loosenesse; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even in their naked Bosomes, where chastest desires should only lodge) the amorous toyes of Venus and Adonis: which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses."

^{&#}x27;So early as 1595, in Pleasant Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen, Stephen Gosson had assailed a similar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's School of Abuse, ed. 1841, p. xiii):—

[&]quot;These Holland smockes, so white as snowe, and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought, A tempting ware they are, you know, wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc. "These perriwigges, ruffes armed with pinnes, these spangles, chaines and laces all; These naked paps, the Devils ginnes, to worke vaine gazers painefull thrall: [He fowler is, they are his nets, Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.]"

^{&#}x27;These satirists and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themselves of impure dispositions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

[&]quot;Fie on thee! I can tell what thou would'st do Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin:
For thou thyself hast been a libertine,
As sensual as the brutish sting itself:
And all the embossed sores and headed evils,
That thou with license of free foot hast caught,
Would'st thou disgorge into the general world."

As You Like It, Act ii. sc. 7.

p. 78, l. 7: kissing.—"I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publiquely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them." [In Spain they don't do it] "because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should haue this occasion." 1623.—
J. Minsheu, Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see Harrison, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his Scourge of Villanie, 1599, Works, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see Lusty Yuventus, 1550, Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 85:—

"What a hurly-burly is here! Smick smack, and all this gear! You will to tick-tack, I fear, If you had time: Well, wanton, well:
Iwis I can tell
That such smock-smell
Will set your nose out of tune."

See Beatrice's protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston's Dutch Courtezan (1605), Act III. sc. i; Works, 1856, ii. 144. She's one of Sir Herbert's daughters, and says, "boddy a beautie! tis one of the most unpleasing, injurious customes to ladyes; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collor, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lipps as familierly. Soft skins save us! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes: I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe," &c. &c. A. D. 1792, "there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her; the same is practised by the people in general; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friendship are impressed alike on the lips." H. Meister (Swiss by birth). Letters on England, englisht 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. Sweet smells of musks, &c.

"Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,
Their waters made of seemely sent,
Are lures of Luste, and farre unmeete,
Except where needes they must be spent,"

1579.—W. A., A speciall Remedie against . . lawlesse Love. Collier's Bibl. Cat. ii. 237.

"Mercatore.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack; For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy...

Gerontus.. As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant perfumes, and many such toys,

Wherein I perceive consisteth that country['s] gentlewomen's joys.

¹ See Meas. for Meas., I. ii. 196.

270 Notes on pp. 78, 79. Women's Toys, Scents, &c.

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons."

1584.—R. W., The Three Ladies of London, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :--

" What smels sweete?

Muske, Ciuet, Amber, and a thousand thinges
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes:
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,
For they are sweete by nature and by kindc.
Faire Women that in bosoms nosegays weare,
Kisse byt their lippes, and say what sent they beare,
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well."

1600.—Quips upon Questions. By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back. I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875, to assign the tract to John Singer: "Mr. Collier informs me that the name J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume."

p. 78-9. Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.

"Epigram.

What feather'd fowle is this that doth approach
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach?
Three yards of feather round about her hat,
And in her hand a bable like to that:
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose;
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose 1,
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there?
Light feather'd stuffe befits you best to weare." (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)
1608.—S. Rowlands, Humors Looking-Glasse (Hunterian Club, 1872)

A Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine:
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,
In her attire an angell of the light.
Is she an Angell? I: it may be well,
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

1 "Tailor. Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown:

Grumio. Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts
of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred: I said a gowne."

-? 1596-7.—Shakspere, Taming of the Shrew, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224,
col. 2.

Notes on pp. 79, 80. Women's Feathers, &c. 271

With brauest feathers in the Estridge tayle,
She scornes to treade our former proud wiues traces,
That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces;
In her conceit it is not faire enough,
She must reforme it with her painters stuffe;
And she is neuer merry at the heart,
Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.
Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,
Then home againe; birladie, she takes paines.
My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,
If he were loose, would lead a single life."

The Humors that haunt a Wife (ib. B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. Looking-glasses: mirrors in hats, &c.

"Amorphus... Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat, as I told you: so!" 1600.—Ben Jonson, Cynthia's Revels, II. i.

p. 79: bracelets, rings, &c.

"and now, my honie Loue,
Will we returne vnto thy Fathers house
And reuell it as brauely as the best,
With silken coats and caps, and golden Rings,
With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things;
With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of brau'ry,
With Amber Bracelets, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7.—Shakspere, Taming of the Shrew, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. Masks, face-painting, &c.

"Peace, Cynick; see, what yonder doth approach! A cart? a tumbrell? No a badgëd coach. What's in't? Some man? No, nor yet woman kinde, But a celestiall angell, faire, refinde.
The divell as soone! Her maske so hinders me, I cannot see her beauties deitie,
Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
So steept in lemons juyce, so surphuled,
I cannot see her face. Under one hoode
Two faces: but I never understood
Or saw one face under two hoods till now:
'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.
Her maske, her vizard, her loose-hanging gowne
(For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

¹ Both sexes wore them publicly; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistresses's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

Notes on pp. 80, 81. Women's Masks, &c. 272

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall, Is all that makes her thus angelicall. Alas! her soule struts round about her neck : Her seate of sense is her rebato set; Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse, Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse. Out on these puppets, painted images, Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskeries, Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light! Away! away! hence! coach-man, goe inshrine Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline!" 599. - In, Marston, Scourge of Villanie. Works, 1856, iii, 283.

p. 80. Visors made of veluet: Of Masks, Gosson says, Pleasant Quippes, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254:-

The tallow-pale, the browning-bay, The swarthie-blacke, the grassie-greene, The pudding red, the dapple graie,

So might we judge them toyes

To keepe sweet beautie still in plight.

". . on each wight, now are they seene, | What else do maskes but maskers show? And maskers can both dance and play: Our masking dames can sport, you knowe, Sometime by night, some time by day: 'Can you hit it'1 is oft their

> Deuse-ace 2 fals stil to be their chance."

"Higgen. We stand here for an epilogue Ladies, your bounties first! the rest will follow; For women's favours are a leading alms: If you be pleas'd, look cheerly, throw your eyes Out at your masks.

Prigg. And let your beauties sparkle!" 1622. - Fletcher. The Beggars Bush, Works, i. 231.

daunce.

p. 81: makers of new fashions.-Compare Massinger, in his Picture, 1629-30. Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. I, Moxon's ed.—

> "Eubulus. There are some of you, Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery, Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war Or a long famine. All the treasure, by This foul excess, is got into the merchant, Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor's hand, And the third part of the land too, the nobility Engrossing titles only."

¹ Compare Rosaline: 'Thou canst not hit it, my good man,' L. L. Lost, IV. ii.; Ritson's Robin Hood, ii. 213; Wily Beguil'd (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p. 254-5, and p. 371.

² A male's genitals.

p. 81. Heathen women an example to Christian ones.

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts. little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always, be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold; and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), Works (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, l. 10 from foot. In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.—Munster (Cosmography, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel' which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie uelantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus. nisi quòd superne nimium excauatur."-S.

p. 87. Women's dress: its motive:-

> "For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress, If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail, Put not forth ever and anon with your nets Abroad into the world? It is your fishing. There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady. Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters, Fetch answers, do you all the offices That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. The Devil is an Ass, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2.

p. 87 .- How the day's spent by Women :-

"Daily till ten a clocke a bed she Ives. And then againe her Lady-ship 1 doth rise. Her Maid must make a fire, and attend To make her ready; then for wine sheele send, (A morning pinte) she sayes her stomach's weake. And counterfeits as if shee could not speake. Vntill eleuen, or a little past, About which time, euer she breakes her fast: Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure. And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre. At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepes, Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleepes Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout: And when that lazie humour is worne out, She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap, Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap) Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale, Or else at me sheele curse, and sweare, and rale, Or walke a turne or two about the Hall, And so to supper and to bed: heeres all This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her! But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.2 . . ."

1609 .- S. Rowlands, A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

She has no title.

² See S. Rowlands's sketch of a Jealous husband, in his Diogines Lanthorne, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye, 1604, the Idie-huswife, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872:—

"Ine, neate, and curious mistris Butter flie,
The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,
You that wish all Good-huswiues hang'd for why;
Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,
Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masske, your Chaine,
Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.
You that will call your Husband 'Gull & Clowne,'
If he refuse to let you haue your Will:
You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,
Vnlesse his purse be lauish open still,
You that will haue it, get it how he can,
Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,
Ile Stabbe thee."

Compare too an older complaint in The Schole-House of Women, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 111-112:—

"I Wed them once, and then adue, Farwel, all trust and huswifery; Keep their chambers, and them self mew,

For staining of their fisnamy [complexion],

And in their bed all day doo lye; Must, once or twise enery week, Fain them self for to be sick.

¶ Send for this, and send for that;
Little or nothing may them please;
Come in, good gossip, and keep
me chat,

I trust it shall do me great ease; Complain of many a sundry disease; A gossips cup between vs twain, Til we be gotten vp again. Then must she haue maidens two or three,

That may then gossips togither bring;

Set them to labour to blere the eye; Them self wil neither wash ne wring, Bake ne brue, ne any thing; Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot, Brew of the best in a halfpeny pot.

¶ Play who wil, the man must labour, And bring to house all that he may; The wife again dooth nought but glauour,

And holde him vp with yea and nay; But of her cup he shall not assay, Other she saith, it is to thin, Or els, iwis, there is nothing in." &c.

p. 87, l. 10 from foot. Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sittyng at the doore.—"They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by." Emanuel van Meteren's History of the Netherlands, in Rye's England as seen by Foreigners, p. 72; Harrison, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.

"Butler. I am now going to their place of resi lence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see Harrison, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me; but ask not for

276 Notes on p. 87. Shopkeepers' Wives used.

me, only walk to and fro; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with the shopkeepers' wives: they have seats built a purpose for such familiar entertainment." 1607.— G. Wilkins, The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's Dutch Courtesan (1605), Act III. sc. i. (Works, 1856, ii. 155). Mistresse Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress:—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him; and his wife is a proper woman; that she is! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wain-scot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant: her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All thinges with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable. He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save,
To be cald nigard, cuckold, cut-throat, knave!"

And in his Satyre I, 1598, Works, iii. 215, Marston says :-

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,
To see such troupes of gallants still resort
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause
But chast Brownetta, Sporo thether drawes?"

Machiavelli's Instructions to his Son how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject:—

"If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore, Let her stand like a picture at thy doore, Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends, Faire eies, fond lookes, will gaine a world of friends. -Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie; Bid her forbeare; her toyle makes thee pittie; Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines, With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines. Play at bo-peepe, see me and see me not; It comes off well, that is so closely got; And euermore say, 'aye! well fare the vent That paies the charges of the house, and rent!' Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this, The finest Dames doth some times do amisse, Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede. And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede, And make great shew of denoutest praier, When she only goes to meete her louer.

Notes on p. 87. Shopkeepers' Daughters and Maids. 277

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text; Shee tels him any thing that cometh next; And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse, Scarse for laughing, one word can rehearse, But prettily turnes it off with some iest: He beares with all; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,
And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,
If by her sutors, siluer may be had,
Beare with small faults; the good will help the bad.
Be not too seuere, time may mend their faults;
He is a foole, before a cripple haults;
Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,
Tis pittie but his cheekes should e're look thin:
What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all;
Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall?
This is no world for vertuous men to thriue;
Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aline.
Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie;
Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-scruants be kinde-hearted wenches, And closely make kinde bargins on the benches, Let them haue libertie, loue and pleasure; All these are helpes to bring in thy treasure; Let them laugh and be merrie; it yeelds content; Thei'le humor all, till all their coyne is spent. If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow, Winke at a wanton who hath not beene so."

1613 .-- The Vncasing of Machinils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavels Vncasing" says, ib. sign. F 2, back :-

"An honest minde in every trade doth well,
The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.
Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,
Seeke no corrupt meanes for silner or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,
To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.
Winke at no faults; it is but misery,
By bestiall meanes to releeue necessity.
If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,
That her peeuish meanes worke not thy strife;
Giue her not too much lawe, to run before;
Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow;
Yet abridge her not too much by any meane;
But let her still be thy companion.

278 Notes on p. 87. Parents' Treatment of Children.

And to thy daughter proue a better sire,
Then [= than], like a hacknie, let her out to hire.
What a greeuous case were this for thee,
To extoll thy selfe to prosperity
By such insatiat meanes! a heavy sense
Descruing nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such markt contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in King Solomon's Book of Wisdom, in my Adam Davie (E. E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my Bubees Book, &c., E. E. Text Soc.):—

"Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare, Yet to outward view let not loue appeare, Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue, By audacious meanes doe audacious proue, Seeme not a companion in any case To thy children: learne them know who's in place, That due obedience to thee be done; The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne. Thus may thy children be at thy commaund, With willing heart, still helpefull at thy hand. Familiarity, contempt doth breed; By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto thy seede: Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list; Once being growne, thei'll stubbornely resist, Caring not for parents nor their talking, Commending their owne wits; age is doting. Looke well to youth and how their time is spent, Least thou by leasure afterwards repent . . . Vse no corrections in an angry vaine, Which will but vexe thee much, increase thy paine . . . The greefe is thine, when children goe astray; Giue them not too much liberty to play, Least that they doe to a custome bring it. And euer after forbeare to leaue it."

[sign. G 2] "Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade; Loue thou thy God; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself:-

"Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop, Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top; Shee is a Lady for her louely face, And her countenance hath a Princes grace, And that her beautie hath inthrald thee soe,

Notes on pp. 87, 88. Shopwomen, Gardens. 279

Except shee yeelds remorse, shee workes thy woe; Then cast thine eye vpon her beautious cheeke, Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like: Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing; Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing; Her Iuorie teeth, her lip and chin; Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene; Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie, Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely: Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be, Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see; Then she nods the head with smiling fauor, That thou shouldst bestow such loue vpon her. Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head, And give a sigh, as though thy heart were dead; And shew strange passions of affections sence, That she may pittie loue sirreuerence, Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor, Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her. Thus let the issue of this cunning be, That from her purse, some profit come to thee, A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stuffe, A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe; A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring, Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing, Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine That still invention gives his sweetest vaine,"

1615.—The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 11-12.

p. 88, l. 8: thei have Gardens, &c.—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in Measure for Measure, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I have a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's Bondman, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeare is like to proue fatall to such as followe the Garden Alleyes, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vnlesse they leaue Harlotte-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the winde serue them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, The Black Yeare, C 3, back.

In Skialetheia, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

"who, comming from the.
Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in
To some odde garden noted house of sinne;"

and West, in a rare poem, The Court of Conscience, 1607, tells a libertine,

"Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

280 Notes on pp. 88-90. Gardens, Harlots, &c.

The garden alleyes paled on either side;

Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."

(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 38.

Also in 1606, No-Body and Some-Body, Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 352:-

"Somebody doth maintaine a common strumpet
Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. Harlots & Brothels.—See S. Rowlands's Doctor Merrie-Man, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in:—

"I am a profest Courtezan, That liue by peoples sinne: With halfe a dozen Puncks I keepe, I have great comming in. Such store of Traders haunt my house, To finde a lusty Wench, That twentie Gallants in a weeke, Doe entertaine the French; Your Courtier, and your Citizen, Your very rustique Clowne, Will spend an Angell on the Poxe, Euen ready mony downe. I striue to liue most Lady-like, And scorne those foolish Queanes, That doe not rattle in their Silkes And yet haue able meanes I haue my Coach, as if I were A Countesse, I protest, I haue my daintie Musicke playes When I would take my rest. I have my Seruing-men that waite Vpon mee in blew Coates:

I have my Oares that [do] attend My pleasure, with their boates: I have my Champions that will fight, My Louers that do fawne: I haue my Hat, my Hood1, my Maske, My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne; To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull, Is mighty fauour found, When for the wearing of the same, It costs him twentie pound. My Garter, as a gracious thing, Another takes away: And for the same, a silken Goune The Prodigall doth pay. . . . Another lowly-minded youth, Forsooth my Shooe-string craues, And that he putteth through his eare, Calling the rest, bace slaues. Thus fit I Fooles in humours still. That come to me for game, I punish them for Venerie, Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies:

"What, do you sigh? this it is to kiss the hand of a countess, to have her coach sent for you, to hang poniards in ladies' garters, to wear bracelets of their hair, and for every one of these great favours, to give some slight jewel of five

^{1 &}quot;Alice. The poor common whores can have no traffic for the priuy rich ones; your caps and hoods of velvet call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, IV. iii. Works, ii. 192, col. 1.

Notes on pp. 97, 98. Whoredom in London. 281

hundred crowns or so: why, 'tis nothing! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery: well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, V. vii.; Works, i. p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, l. 13: huggle, to embrace closely.

"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave, And huggle me from the cold."

Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard, 11. 61-2. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.—S.

p. 97. Cottages in every lane end. Against this evil was passt, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte againste erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconveniences whiche are founde by experience to growe by the erectinge and buyldinge of great nombers and multitude of Cottages, which are daylie more and more increased in manye parter of this Realme: Be it enacted. . That . . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect. . any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor convert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge. . as a Cottage for habitacion or dwellinge, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Gröwnde at the least. . beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be contynuallie occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. Whoredom to be punisht.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) you shall see what . . . inconvenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Curtizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto: is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed: idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can giue no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, Greenes Ghost haunting Coniecatchers, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's Pryde and Abuse of Women, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 233:

"Take no example by shyre townes,

Nor of the Cytic of London:

For therein dwell proude wycked

ones,

The poyson of all this region.

For a stewde strumpet can not so soone Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon, But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it well,

And catch it up anon."

And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI.: "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days.. how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common!.. It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

282 Notes on pp. 99, 100. Whoredom to be punisht.

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, 'Immunity, impunity:' what should I call it! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it; and the quest, they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." Scrmons, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the "manifolde Enormities"

in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590:

"XXV. Sundrie notoriowse vises aboundinge, by meanes of ye former confusion in ye Ecclesiasticall state.

I. Vnlawfull and vnresonable vsurie, in no Cuntrie more Common.

2. fornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted. [? practist.]

3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnresonable strength of Ale soulde with owte sise of Statute: a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton's Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne.)

4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talkinge vppon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.

5. Continuall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owlde and young, Riche and poore; no way punished or punishable."

Remains, Hist. & Lit. Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99: punishment for Whoredom. Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550:—"I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished: it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin." Sermons, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244: and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves: I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.—"On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to have beene the burning of old shooes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppresse the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before evening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therevpon

Notes on p. 101. Judgment on a Whoremonger. 283

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and roofe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench: which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat."-Holinshed, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60-15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinshed's account is, as usual, from Stow's Annales, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: "Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and hauing spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoever, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592."

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip's complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands's *Crew of kinde Gossips*, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

"Looke, heere's the best apparrell that I have, The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue. He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues, I am beholding more to others loues Then vnto him,—in honest manner tho, [ironv] And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so .-There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three, And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be, Which will not see me want, I know it, I: Two of them at my house in Terme time lye, And comfort me with iests and odde deuice, When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice. For if I were without a merry friend, I could not liue a twelue-month to an end: One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,-It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,-Do y' thinke my husband would have bin so free? Alas he neuer made so much of mee."

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband's answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. Wives live by whoredom.

" Knockem. . . I'll provide you a coach to take the air in.

Mrs. Littlewit. But do you think you can get one?

Knocken. O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every pettifogger's wife has 'em; for first he buys a coach that he

284 Notes on p. 102. Gluttony, Drunkenness.

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Tair, IV. iii. Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102: glutton.—" What good can the great gloton do wt his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in ye middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but ye the body dilicately fed, maketh, as ye rumour saith, an vnchast bed." d. 1535, Sir T. More, Works (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

"London, look on, this matter nips thee near:

Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer;

Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,

But aid the infant, and relieve the poor;

Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,

Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness."

Lodge & Greene's Looking-Glass for London & England,

pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. Gluttony: see the 'Gluttone' in Rowlands's Ile Stabbe yee, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, 'To a Gormandizing Glutton', in his Knaue of Spades (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his Letting of Humours Blood (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness:—

"What should I speake of your two greatest Gods $\pi o \lambda v \phi a \sigma i a$ and $\pi o \lambda v \pi o \sigma i a$, gluttonous feeding and excessive drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that have their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

"I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choyse in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syrropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to moue an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talke not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant with wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subject to, and most readie to accomplish?

"Besides, howe doth your gluttonie chaunge Natures comlines into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkeneses? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomack is ouercharged, the body distempered, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnrulie Lord, doo lay him in ye durt like an ouer ruled slaue; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vppe the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Augea king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were neuer knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that euer liued, so that by these meanes it may be saide, that a gluttonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyardes."—A meruailous combat of contrarieties, by W.[illiam] A.[verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. Drunkard: see S. Rowlands' sketch of one in his Ile Stabbe yee, 1604, C 3, p. 21; Diogines Lanthorne, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8); also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his Letting of Humours Blood, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8); and his praise of good liquor in Letting, &c., p. 76-8. On 'How to make Drunken folk Sober,' see Sir Wm. Vaughan's Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health, 1608. Compare also the Act:—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunckenes. Whereas the loathsome and odyous Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundacion of many other enormious Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornicacion, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ympoverishing of many good Subjectes abusievely wasting the good Creatures of God: Be it therefore enacted. That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullic convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges. to be paid within one week next after his her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commytted, who shalbe accompable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parishe."

§ III puts a Penalty of 3s. 4d., or the Stocke, on Persons found tippling, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton's Sivquila (Aliquis), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in Nusquam or Nowhere, Lupton's 'Utopia':—

Niggardly and drunken churles worse than swine.

"A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine! for though sometimes they driue their fellowes from the meat, and eate by themselves, yet when they have filled themselves sufficiently, they goe awaye, and leave the reste, cate it who wil. But thou, greedie commorant, when they hast taken more than is sufficient, they dost not only con-

cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungrie brother, and wilt not leave anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot move thee to go vnto Heauen, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therfore, bycause thou hast so much welth that thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more living than thou art worthy

A good indgement ginen vpon a drunkarde.

of; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, that thou shalt gine yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend to a godly learned man, for his better maintenance; who shall

286 Notes on p. 102. A Drunkard's punishment.

be bounde every weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to [r. To pay a Preacher to attend vpon thee one halfe houre at a time, then instructing thee preach to him (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to 3 times a week,] saluation, persuading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also shall preache three dayes enery weeke in the parishe Churche [& 3 times a week in his where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market parish church.] dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting [a. to sit for 3 on thy forehead, as followeth: 'This is the Drunkarde that market days spente as muche dayly at the Tauernes and for wine, as tenne of his with a pot in his hand, & "Drunkard" nexte neyghboures did spende daylye in their houses.' And this on his forchead. l being ended, thou shalte remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and 3. go to prison for half a yeare. there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for euerye dinner thou shalte be allowed not aboue a grote, in breade, drinke, and meate: and thou shalte be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboue the value of a pennye." The poor man who is a drunkard is to "sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knowen, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoeuer he shall be out of his owne house. . and euery Sondaye during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to auoyde drunkennesse." Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, Sivquila says "And the poorer sort, thoughe they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conueniently as they, yet on the Sundaye at the furthest they wyll bee euen wyth them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyll so tipple almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantly paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and

drinke three for it, (I will not sayethey will be drunketwo and a halfe of the same.)"

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my *Babees Book*, p. 247, and Andrew Boorde's *Introduction*, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

"And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling [bowl-ing] For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gratious benefits." 1570-1601.—W. Lambarde. Perambulation of Kent, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

"Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German's upsy-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer's stoop of rhenish, the Italian's parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o' th' coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

Notes on p. 103. Fare in Edward VI.'s time. 287

why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609. T. Dekker. Guls Hornbook, Præmium, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of Le Débat des Hérants d'Armes (ab. 1546), and John Coke's Answer to it (1550), for his Societé des Anciens Textes Français, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that Anglia potat 1, or Li mieldre buveor en Angleterre, 2 though William of Normandy says in his Besant 3 that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, Drunkenness. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being Anglici caudati, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article caudati in Du Cange; A de Montaiglon, Anciennes Poesies Françaises VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.

p. 103. England better in old times.—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's "Twas a merry world in the old time" in his A Fooles Bolt is soone shot, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103: rough fare of our Forefathers: roots, pulse, herbes, &c. Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's Vision, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise (Starkey's Life & Letters, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herrtage):—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. If 61 (dated, on If 8, A.D. 1548).

"So, for that Oxe whiche hathe beene the like solde, for ffortie shealing is nowe takethe hee fyue pownde: yea, seauyn is more, I haue herde it so tolde: hee cannot els lyue; so decare is his grownde.

Sheepe, thoughe they neauer so plentie abownde, suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell, that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot have served, other in Mutton, the price is so hye: vndre a groate hee can have none kerved: so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrelye, and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie, whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn, like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [If 61, back.] to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate: to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte, as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate;

¹ Reliquiae Antiquae, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii). Archives des Missions, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

² Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes*, ii. 281. ³ ed. Martin, l. 2000-3: cp. the editor's note on this passage.

288 Notes on pp. 105, 116. Neglect of the Poor.

if they bee pinched and weyned from meate, I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende, shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooatis, by water herbys, or suche beggerye baggage, that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis · geeue Englische men meate, after their olde vsage, Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage; and then I dare to this byll sett my hande: they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.—"The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselues happy, if they mighte haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner or supper, and to haue the same given them at their doore. But many of The wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hilling cruel vising of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to the poore. goe by their poore pitiful brethren and give them nothing, but they will moste vncharitably and vnchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being checkt of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driven to despaire." 1580.—T. Lupton. Sivquila, p. 28-9.

p. 116. Neglect of the poor.—See Robert Copland's most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne'er-do-weels, and Unthrifts of Henry VIII's time in his Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew's Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt's Popular Poetry, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-1:—

f... I haue sene at sondry hospytalles
That many haue lyne dead without the walles,
And for lacke of socour haue dyed wretchedly,
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng;
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,
That in the nyght so many lodge without:
For in the whatche whan that we go about,
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoores,
But surely,) euery nyght ther is found
One or other lyeng by the pound,
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft;
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

Notes on pp. 116-118. Inclosures, Lawyers. 289

And euen here by this brycke wall
We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall;
And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,
Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,
And in many corners wher that we go,
Wherof I wondre greatly why they do so,
But oftymes when they vs se,
They do reme a great deal faster than we."

p. 116. Inclosures. See the series of extracts on this subject in my Ballads from MSS., Part I, Ballad Society; the Supplications edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's England in Henry VIII's Time, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; Harrison, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspere, before he died, "told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe", the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (Leop. Sh. Introd., p. cix.)

"Where, by the way, the country Rook deplor'd
The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,
The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws
Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws
Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,
Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,
And, by th' inclosure of old common land,
Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand;
Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,
Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones .
. . . . and when he can no more,
The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,
And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,
A bond-slave to the miserable jail."

1604.—M. Drayton, The Owl. Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. Lawyers. — See Harrison, Part I. p. 204-7; Father Hubbard's Tales (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's Middleton, &c. The complaint starts from long before Piers Plowman (Text B, Prol. l. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

"Oh, the innumerabyl wyles, craftys, sotyltes and delayes, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil neuer spye, because of their private lucres sake; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bisshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth." Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, Complaynt of Roderick Mors, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. Dearth (dearness, cost).—See my Stafford's Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints, 1581. New Shaksp. Soc. 1876.

"What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shooes, Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

290 Notes on p. 119. Grasping Landlords, &c.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch?

It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—The Vneasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers, &-c.—"Sivqila. I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretiship, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruel Creditors, who having not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to give them all that he hadde, and to leave himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these mercilesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they woulde make Dice of his bones, if they hadde nothing else."—Thomas Lupton's Sivqila, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. Covetous men buying up poor men's land.

"Cormerauntes, gredye gulles, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! . . we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue . . . In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these xii: yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them." 1550.—R. Crowley, The Way to Wealth. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Hear also Becon, who died in 1570:-" The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredy Gentylmen, whyche Shepmongers, are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne private commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye have gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde Pullip. ii. [21] true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage, and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroiers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure ye final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

Notes on p. 119. Avaritious land-buyers, &c. 291

fal to the grounde. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should have any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse Gene. iiii. man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he yt Eccle. xxxiiii. [21] defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things neces-Bread what it sary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciable couetousnes sel signifieth. al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." Becon, Jewel of Joy. Works, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.—S. J. Herrtage.

'Les gros poissons mangent les petis: Pro. Justly applyed to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mightie the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: misers, or rich men, adding land to land.—" Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themselues with vs: for if they did not, their would not so greedily gather their goods togither, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke euery day to die, (being of such extreame age) have so little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they have, that they are so sparing to themselues, so niggardly to theyr neighbours, and so pinching to the pouertie, as though they should live here ever, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themselves one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. Sivquila, p. 70-1.

"What mettayle is this money that makes men so mad? What mischiefe is it thereby is not wrought? What earthly thing is not therefore to be had? What hath been so loved, but money hath bought? What vertue, or goodness, of us so much sought? 'Who doth not wish for money,' each one doth say. How many for money have been robbed and murthered? How many false witnesses, and for money perjured? How many wives from their husbands have been enticed? How many maydens to folly for money allured? How many for money have spirits and divells conjured? How many friends, for money have beene mortall foes? Mo mischieves for money then I can disclose! How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned? How many betrayers of their country for money every day? How many for money from true judgment are led? Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money? Did not Iudas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c. 1578 .- T. Lupton, All for Money, in Halliwell's Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries, p. 107. He also gives the other side of the question :

"Pleasure. In what case were the worlde, were it not for money? Without joye and pleasure, better be dead then aliue:

292 Notes on pp. 123—127. Usurers, &c.

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie? To satisfic mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive, But I conteyne them at this time and hower, Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing, Eating and drinking, dysing and carding, Riding and running, swimming and singing, Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playing, Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes, Dallying with faier women, with other kinde of sportes: All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye. With musicall instruments, both with man and boye. Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace, But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe."

p. 123. Usury. See Harrison, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, 'To Mr. Mony-bag the Vsurer' in his Knaue of Spades (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26; and his sketch of Usury in his Diogines Lanthorne, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9:

"Hastow pite on pore men, bat mote nedes borwe?

I have as moche pite of pore men, as pedlere hath of cattes, pat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myste, for coveitise of here skynnes."

"Simplicity. O that vild Usury! he lent my father a little money; and for breaking one day,

He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away; And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost; But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste, So he kill'd my father with sorrow, and undoed me quite."

1584.—The Three Ladies of London, Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays, vi. 259. See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of N. & Q., x. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. Every Begger almost is called Maister.—See Lancelot's "MAISTER Launcelet" in the Merchant of Venice, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on Marrison, I, 133, 137), which I printed in New Sh. Soc.'s Trans. 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspere getting his "yeoman" father arms, and making him a "gentleman" in 1596 (Leopold Shakspere Introduction, p. ciii); and p. 237, above.

p. 124. Usury allowed by Law. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revived the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repealed by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20—authorized the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mortgage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. Prisoners for debt.

"Fallace . . . if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you! you are in for one, half-a-score year; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, V. vii., Works, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—No-Body and Some-Body. Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 307. In The Play of Stucley, 1605, ib. p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentiond:

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers
As to oppress them with the prison stink!?
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison.. is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron: It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it. when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischiefes and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.— Wm. Fennor, The Compters Common-wealth, or A Voiage made to an Infernall Iland long since discovered by many Captaines, &c., Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was calld Miseries of a Jaile, or A True Description of a Prison.)

p. 127. I will make dice of his bones. The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands:

"Greedy Vsurer.

Hou Fur-gown'd slaue, exceeding rich and olde, Ready to be deuowred of the Graue:
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold, And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue:
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,
Whome Hell gapes for; the Deuill comes to fetch.
Thou that wilt not forbeare an howers time,
But wilt a forfayture seueerely take:
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,
And threatnest, Dice, of poor mens bones to make,
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,
Ile stabbe yee."

1604.-S. Rowlands, Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye, sign. B 3; p. 13, ed. 1872.

^{1 &}quot;See Bacon, Nat. Hist. Cent. X no. 914. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See Holinshed, IV. 868, and Leicester Correspondence, 224."

"Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes, Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes. Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can'st catch from thy distressed friendles needy wretch, Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head, Turne him and's children out to begge their bread. Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt, And let them at thy handes no fauour get, Send them to Prison; there in all distresse, To taste the mercie of the mercilesse. Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete, Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheete."—Ib. p. 43-4-

"Thou that vauntest, and wilt make dice of thy debtor's bones; be these the words of a man?"—Of Creditors, Minshul's Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. Scriveners. See T. M.'s Father Hubburd's Tales in Dyce's Middleton's Works, vol. v.

SWEARING.

p. 129. Swearing. On this in 1303, see my Roberde of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, pp. 23.7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley's Epigrams, p. 19. On the hunting oaths, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in Four Supplications, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53: "What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne-huntinge othes) extorcyon / pryde / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /"

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, "in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swearyng as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyldren, which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punysshe it."

p. 131. Swearing. It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1599), I. i., Works, i. 73, "be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [= vulgar]: study their carriage and behaviour in all; learn to play at primero and passage; and even [when you lose] have two or three feculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears." And in Every Man in his Humour, I. iii, Cob says: "Well, should they do so much to me, I'd forswear them all, by the foot of Pharaoh! There's an oath! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me—he does swear the legiblest of any man christened: 'By St. George! the foot of Pharaoh! the body of me! as I am a gentleman and a soldier!' such dainty oaths!" Ben Jonson's Works, i. 12.

'Il iure comme vn Gentilhomme. He sweares after a thousand pound a yeare.' Il iure comme vn Abbé [viz. extreamly], chartier; gentilhomme; prelat [A Huguenot's comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

"Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get
A faire rich sute, though fouly run in debt?
Looke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,
Keepe whores, fee bauds, belch impious blasphemies,
Wallow along in swaggering disguise,
Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,
Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die
With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?
Canst thunder common oathes, like th' rattling
Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?
Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,
And call them brothers."

1599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281:—

"What, meanst thou him that in his swaggering slops Wallowes unbracëd, all along the streete?... What! that ringo roote!

Means't that wasted leg, puffe bumbast boot?

What, he that's drawne and quarterëd with lace;

That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?

Why, he is nought but huge blaspheming othes,

Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.

Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,

And wasted cleane away his martiall spright;

Infeebling riot, all vices' confluence,

Hath eaten out that sacred influence

Which made him man."

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne.

"Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere."

CHAUCER, Pardoneres Tale, 1. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous, Hazlitt's Pop. Poetry, iv. 43:—

"And there they reuell as vnthryfty braggers,
With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]
Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,
Deth, fote, masse, flesshe, bones, lyfe, and body,
With all other wordes of blasphemy,
Bostynge them all in dedes of theyr myschefe,
And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, thefe.
The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,
For none other ways they do not pretende."

p. 135, l. 9. There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocalishire, &c.—A copy of Stubbes's poem here referred to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73-88. See my Forewords above.

Notes on p. 136. Sunday bearbaiting, &c. 206

p. 136, l. 13. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol [= Londinum], د.-" The II. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a little money that she should have paid for sixe pound of towe, at a shop in Woodstreete of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her 1576, God punishmouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should have bene voided downewards, till she died: a terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother."-Stow's Annales, ed. 1605, p. 1152.-S.

SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. Keeping of Sunday (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-playes, see the extract from Gosson's Schoole of Abuse under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, Harrison, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his Crowley's Select Works, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv :-

"Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies: there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes: there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres: there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powryng forth of most fearefull judgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."- The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c., sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowle	ey himself says in his One and thyrtye Epigrammes, 1550 (ed	. 1872,
p. 9):—	"How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende	
	In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende,	128
	Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe, Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe."	132
And at p.	16-17 "of Bearbaytynge," he writes :—	
	"What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger	
	A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare? And to thys onely ende to se them two fyght	376
	Wyth terrible tearynge: a full ougly syght. And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all,	380
	Whose store of money is but verye smale, And yet euerye Sondaye they will surely spende	384
	One penye or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende. At Paryse garden, eche Sundaye, a man shall not fayle	388
	To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes vaile. One halpenye a piece they vse for to giue,	392
	When some have no more in their purse, I believe."	39 6

Notes on p. 136-7. Sunday Dancing and Baiting. 297

So too Arthur Golding, in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580: "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . speciall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (From Collier's Stationers' Registers, ii. 118, and my Captain Cox, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth's countenance. This is how Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester's entertain-

ment of the Queen there:

"On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in divine servis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in dauncing of Lordes and Ladiez, and oother woorshipfull degrees, vttered with such lively agilitee & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleazunt too the minde, for my part indeed I coold not discern: but exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both." P. 12 of my edition of Captain Cox, or Laneham's Letter, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Laneham's capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (ib. p. 16-17) is well known, but J. Hooker's lifting of part of it-"It waz a sport very plezaunt" to "a goodly releef"-bodily into his continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. I, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. Beare bayting on the Saboth day.

"What else but gaine and Money gote maintaines each Saboth day The bayting of the Beare and Bull? What brings this brutish play? What is the cause that it is borne, 1569, E. Hake. Newes out of Powles Churchyarde, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

and not controlled ought, Although the same of custome be on holy Saboth wrought? Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite gainst good and godly lyfe."

The Sabbath day, says Kethe's Sermon at Blandford, 1570, "the multitude call their revelying day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowlings, dicyng, cardyng, daunsynges, drunkennes and whoredome . . in so much as men could not keepe their servauntes from lyinge out of theyr owne houses the same sabbath-day at night." Hazlitt's Brand, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting .-"Of saying seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late, whan much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouer whelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after herde the tale tolde, 'lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytynge.' How be it, the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the churche was falsely wrought."-Sir T. More (died 1535), Works, p. 208, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch's Bismarck in the Franco-German War, 1870-1, i. 221-2 (1879):-

"And the 'keeping holy the Sabbath-day,' said the Chief [Bismarck], that

298 Notes on p. 137. Sunday Bearbaitings, &c.

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. 'Pray, sir, do not whistle!' 'Why not; is whistling forbidden here?' 'No,' said he, 'it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!' This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to."

p. 137. Bearbaiting, &-c., on Sundays.—See the Act I Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch. I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. "Forasmuch as . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes uppon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddes and other great inconveniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shalbe no meetinges assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoever; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillinges foure pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . ." (This Act was confirmed and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. Prophanation of the Saboth.

Jhon hynde

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, Complaynt of Roderick Mors, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, "the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke." The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566-22 July 1567.

Recevyd of Alexandre lacye for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett the abuse of y sabooth of the lorde &c/ . . . iiijd Arber's Transcript of the Stationers Registers, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton concerning thabuse of the Sabothe Daye. thother the lamentacon of a synner troubled in consequence. . . viijd

(Ib. ii. 348.)

"For further proof whercof, I call to witnesse the Theaters [Burbage's], Curtines [in Shoreditch] Heauing ¹ houses, Rifling boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth." 1579.—T. F., Newes from the North, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne's Animadversions, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the Newes to Francis Thynne.)

God worst served on the Sabboth daies served as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to have their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such government have they of themselves, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they learne at plaies, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two houres from virtue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole yeare." 1580.—A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

Fairs. Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the "paltrie fairs.. tendeth to the corruption of youth.. whereby they often spend, not onclie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot." See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

Fairs & Markets on Sundays. Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisht). "Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assisters in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . and on Good Friday accustomably and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Lyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . King . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . ."

Sabbath Doings. See in 1579, T. F.'s Newes from the North. Cap. 14... "For I have partely shewed you heer, what leave and libertie the common people, namely 2 youth, have to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof where, I call to witnesse the Theaters,

Robbing: "to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth]." 1567.—
 Harman, Caucat: Rogues, their pelting Speche: p. 84, E. E. T. Soc., 1869.
 specially.

300 Notes on pp. 139, 141. Keeping of Sunday.

Curtines¹, Heauing houses, Rifling boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefuly mispent, namely² the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's Animadversions, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word,
But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alchouse, than one hour afford,
Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some
other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. The Three Ladies of London. Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. it chaunced that a certaine Jewe.—" In this yere [43 Hen III.] fell that happe of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vppon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabbot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabbot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, whych was Sondaye, and so kept hym there tyll Monday, at which season he was found dede."

—Fabyan. Quoted in Prompt. Parv., s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (Cosmography, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternenberg, "Judæis multum fuit infestus," who indulged in this vile jest, which the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. Theopompus mingled Moyses law with his writinges.—He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction."—Whiston's Josephus, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

¹ See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

² specially.

PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &c.

p. 140, &c. Stage-Plays, Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.

"The Sabboth days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooveful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tippling, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—Liturgical Services, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. Theaters & curtens. James Burbage's "Theatre" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see Harrison, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the Curtain, built before 1579, in or near the present Curtain Road close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), English Drama and Stage, 1543-1664.

"A second and third blast \(^1\) of retrait from plaies\(^1\) and Theatres:\(^1\) the one whereof was sounded by a re-\(^1\) uerond Byshop dead long since\(^2\);\(^1\) the other by a worshipful and\(^1\) zealous Gentleman\(^1\) now aline:\(^1\) One showing the filthiness of plaies in\(^1\) times past; the other the abhomination of\(^1\) Theaters in the time present:\(^1\) both expresly proving that the Common-weale is\(^1\) nigh vnto the curse of God; where-\(^1\) neither plaiers be made of, or\(^1\) Theaters main\(^1\) tained.\(^1\) Set forth by Anglophile Eutheo.\(^1\) Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16.\(^1\) Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not\(^1\) as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time,\(^1\) because the daics are euil.\(^1\)

"Evils of traveiling players.—Since the reteining of these Caterpillers [Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselues, and whome, for neerenes they wil not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almost of other men, passing from countrie to countrie, from one Gentlemans house to another, beggers. offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in deede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them drawe the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse; poore men

¹ Gosson's Schoole of Abuse was the first.

² Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. De Gubernatione Dei, bk. vi.

³ county to county.

302 Notes on p. 146. Theatres, Satan's Chapels.

lining on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftines; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

"Thus the people are robbed; youth corrupted; the Sabboth prophaned: and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right the should establish the lawe of the Roman Traiane, who commanded that no plaier, iester, nor ingler, should be admitted in his Commonweale to pick the purses of his subjects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselues in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of Rome. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as reteiners, are priviledged to roave abroad, and permitted to publish their Temples mametree! in everie Temple of God, and that throughout England, vnto the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of theeves and adulterers." p. 75-8. A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters, 1580.

"Whosocuer shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde Theaters the there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, vtterlie past al chappels of shame: who presse to the fore-frunt of the scaffoldes, to the end to showe their impudencie, and to be as an object to al mens eies. Yea, such is their open shameles behauior, as euerie man may perceaue by their wanton gestures, wherevnto they are given; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of The open the stewes. For often, without respect of the place, and company which swickedness behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to at plaies. be done in secret; as if whatsoeuer they did, were warranted. For neither reverence, justice, nor anie thing beside, can governe them (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

Against (p. 110.) "As I have had a saieng to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, training vp of boies to blaies. Them yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickednes, trained vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Schoolemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and griefe of hart lament.

"O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes,

Plaiers the schoolemaisters of sin in the schoole of shamefastnes, and apt to receive instruction of their lewde teachers, which are the Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse! what do they abuse.

Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse! what do they teach them, I praie you, but to foster mischiefe in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel?

"And as for those stagers themselues, are they not commonlie such kind of men Disposition in their conversation, as they are in profession? Are they not as of plaiers of the most variable in hart, as they are in their partes? are they (p. 112) not good practisers of Bawderie as inactors? Live they not in such sort

¹ maumetrie, idolatry.
² Cp. the ironical Actors Remonstrance in 1643: "we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-roomes those unwholesome inticing Harlots that sit there meerely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, ib. p. 65.)

themselues, as they give precepts vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that not better be compared than to the part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and Camelion. saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can best discharge? And looke what euerie of them doth most delight in, that he can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make choise of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not saie, by how much he exceedes in his gesture, he delightes himselfe in his part? & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature) to be a bawdie plaier, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor virtue?

"If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentance than the tong, or words, why do not plaiers, I beseech you, leaue examples of goodnes to their posteritie? But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroade. as they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers, ruffins? So that they are alwaies exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the Chiefe end louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the of plaies. Plaiers principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116) sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of infamous other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They are infamous men." (End of the Blast extracts.)

"Those also have offended in wantonnesse, that give themselves libertie to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as stage-playes, which serve for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is cloathed with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord condemneth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to breede confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belying of the sexe." 1615. [R. Cleaver] Exposition of the Ten Commandments, p. 299.

On the 'light-taylde huswiues' at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my Tell-Troth volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also Harrison, Pt. I. p. lxxix, lxxx.

"as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (French, 1580), ed. 1634, p. 140.

"Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappie in

304 Notes on pp. 144-147. Men and girls at Theatres.

their choyces for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3. "There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall have the greatest *Auditory*, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." *Ib.* B 2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his Schoole of Abuse, 1579 (old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays:

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering, to sytte by women; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes lighte in them; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte: suche masking in their eares, I know not what; suche geving them pippins to passe the time; such playing at foote saunt without cardes; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

"If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretely practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets verye cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowen, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth, flocke too theaters, and there keepe a generall market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the marchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abrode, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. playhouse.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's Guls Hornbook, 1609, "How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. Lords of Misrule.—See Brand's Popular Antiquities, ed. Ellis, 1841, 1. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281: the latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

¹ See the extract from Gosson's *Playes confuted* (ab. 1580) in *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxx: 'they give them pippines; they dally with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [= specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

"... that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that no folks be suffered to dance in the same."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. Maie games. See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

"Come, my Corinna, come; and comming, marke How each field turns a street; each street a parke Made green, and trimm'd with trees: see how Devotion gives each house a bough. Or branch: each porch, each doore, ere this, An arke, a tabernacle is Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove; As if here were those cooler shades of love. Can such delights be in the street, And open fields, and we not see't? Come, we'll abroad; and let's obay The proclamation made for May: And sin no more, as we have done, by staying; But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying. There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day, But is got up, and gone to bring in May. A deale of youth, ere this, is come Back, and with White-thorn laden home. Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame, Before that we have left to dreame: And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth, And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth: Many a green-gown has been given; Many a kisse, both odde and even:

Many a jest told of the keyes betraying

This night, and locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."

Herrick's Hesperides (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freekles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

Many a glance too has been sent From out the eye, love's firmament:

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES. 20

306 Notes on pp. 149, 150. Maygames, &c.

p. 149. Maygames. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"Littlewit. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions; he has given over his trade.

Quarlous. I remember that too: out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614—Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, I. i.; Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely morisdauns, according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool." 1575.—Laneham's Letter, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. Church-Ales, or Whitsun-Ales.—See Brand's Pop. Antig. i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. 'For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Ales, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see Archaologia, xii. 11-17.'

Church-Ales on Sundays: 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the Sabbath day and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's 'Saboth,' the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word; nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncying, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games,' &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.-A. H. A. Hamilton, Quarter Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *Ib.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shauelings.. preache muche bolynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy asshes / hal-

¹ See Gifford's Ben Jonson, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's Popular Music, pp. 130-135.—W. C.

lowed bedes / mumblynge of a numbre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of church ales, in the whiche, with leappynge / daunsynge / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke)."

1544.—A Supplicacion to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght. E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. Ale sold in Churches, &c.

"Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Church-yard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the day nor the place." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, Injunctions (?) in his Later Writings (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

"Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, Later Writings (Parker Soc.), p. 129.

"Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage houses, any alehouses, tippling-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or wine." . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p. 130. Parker Society.

"The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards, nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching." 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. Hufcap.—See Harrison, I. 295: "there is such headie ale & beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)] &c. . . It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag."

I thought at first that the *huftie-tuftie* of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in 1600, was this *Huf-cap*: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his *Haue with you to Saffron Walden*, sign. L 4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclamation, "jolly," or the like. "Who's the Foole now?" asks Snuffe, and answers, his drunken friend who got robbd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch:

"My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,
With huftie-tuffie, let vs all be merrie,
Forgetting how the time did passe away:
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,
How my friends follie he could scarce disgest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe, Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tipple, Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come.
Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,
He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,
Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling;
A tottering world it was, God wott, to see
My friend disguisde thus without sense or feeling.
Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,
Backward and forward staggring like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girle or boy,

I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—
Begins to looke into this goodly toy,

And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure showes:

Into his pocket diues, and being alone,

Pursse, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone."

1600.—Quips upon Questions, sign. B 4, back, and C 1.

huffly tuffly, adv. bravely, finely.

"I have a tale at my tungs end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse revelling & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there: to which place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffling it out huffly tuffly in his suite of veluet." 1596.—T. Nashe, Have with you to Saffron-walden, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. Church-ales. "There were no rates for the poor in my grand-fether's days"; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This church-ale is doubtless derived from the $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota$, or love-feast, mentioned in the New Testament."—Aubrey's Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire, in his Miscellanies (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. Church-Ales & Dancing. Compare the Bride-Ales:

"Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to exceade in superfluous eating & drinkyng | wherof they spytte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And whan they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some alltogether | therefore regard they nether the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all maner of pompe and pryde | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

¹ Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

whole church | & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house | as it were into an house of merchaundise | to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselues vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church | so go they from the Church agayne | lyght | nyce | in shamefull pompe and vayne wantonesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

"After the bancket and feast | there begynneth a vayne | madd | and vn-manerly fashion. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge | leapinge | and flynging amonge them | then is there such a lyftinge vp and discoueringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell | that a man might thinke | all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them | and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes | and that they were sworne to the deuels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers | & refuse none | how scabbed | foule | droncken | rude and shameles soeuer he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse | & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen tyll supper.

"As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce again of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconvenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they have no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the vttermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

"fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delayes in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyring, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fidlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Reuels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, Satiromastix. Works, 1873, i. 186.

"As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many Other petty things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturb the congregation; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.—Archbp. Whitgift, Works, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. Wakes and Feasts.—See Brand's Popular Antiquities, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

"Wakes: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is:
"ye ought not to make merry over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbid the heathenish songs of laymen, and thear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's Concilia, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to Old English Ditties, p. 81.)

310 Notes on p. 152. Wakes, Sunday Fairs, &c.

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night.—W. C.

See The Chetham Miscellanies, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. p. 152. wakes, &c. Raines (Chetham Society). The Athenœum Review, August 12, 1876, says: "The first article in the collection is a Report on 'The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,' made by certain of the clergy about 1500.1 The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed. and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediæval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that 'wackes, ales, greenes, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawful gaming, pipeinge, and dannsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised uppon ye Sabboth,' but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in such a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,2 while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

^{1 &}quot;The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire [about the year 1590] . . .

[&]quot;V. Faires and Marketes in most Townes ar vsually kepte vppon the Sabboth: by occasion whereof divine Service in the Forenoone is greatly neglected.

neglected.
"VI. Wackes, Ales, Greenes, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfiers, all maner vulawfull Gaming, Pipinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places frely exercised vppon ye Sabboth."

2 Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the Compare Sir Thomas More's compare Sir Thomas

² Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the Irreverent behaviour at Prayer in his Popish day: he died in 1535. Works (1557), p. 1359. Out of al, most true is ye old said saw, that the outward behauior & continuunce is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of ye minde, in asmuche as by ye eyes, by ye chekes, by ye eye liddes, by ye browes, by ye handes, by ye fete, & finally by ye gesture of ye whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly ye minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray withal, so dooe we litle passe also howe vndeuoutli we go forward therin. And albeit we wold haue it seme, y' on ye holye daies we go more gorgeously apparelled then at other times onely for ye honor of god, yet ye negligent fashion yt we vse, a greate mainy of ys, in ye time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knowen & apparaunte to the world) yt we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in ye church somewhiles solemnely iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon ye tone knee, & lene vpon ye tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vpour elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten ruynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we euery way discouer,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon 'the leades of the churche.'1

"The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a Pater Noster or a De Profundis. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals 'they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devowtly, on theire knees, make prayers for the dead.'

"This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. 'The Obsequy of faire Phillida,' a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

"The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to 'overtreate the minister to omitt the service,' and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

"Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

¹ The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

how far wide our mind is wandring from god. We clawe our head, we pare our nailes, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vnsaid both having cleane forgotten, we be fain at al adventures said or what is visaid both flating cleane logottes, we be tain at all addictions to ayme what we have more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selfes both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardon of so many horrible offences, & ouer yt in suche wise to desire him to preserve vs from parpetuall damnacion? so yt this one offence so vnreuerently to approch to ye high maiesty of God, al had we never offended him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished."—R. Roberts.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York:—'Secret mariage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.' The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

"In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the

First. . .

"Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald's College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls 'poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,' to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul's Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not."

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note:—
"It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that 'thair be na mercats upon the sabouith day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandeis on pain of viijs.' Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council now-adays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the dies dominica. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—'Hospitabat frumentum... die Sabbatti.' (Poulson's Beverlac. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

"We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens' accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia:—

"'On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town compeared before the session in answer to their citation; and record bears, "Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon, [they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured.""—Athenaum, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay's Hist. of Arbroath.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woollcombe's Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord's Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punisht with the stocks; and a barber was brought up for "tryming a man on the Lords Day, about tenn o'clocke in the forenone in sermon time."—Athenæum, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. Dancing.—See p. 297; T. F.'s Newes from the North, 1597, as to the Dancing School; and Northbrooke's Treatise [against] Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113-148.

p. 155: kissing. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155: dancing.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I's Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King:—Quart Rev. Oct. 1857, p. 424. Harrison, Part II., p. 58*. "The masque began. [Ben Jonson's Pleasure reconciled to Virtue, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, 'chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, "Why don't they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all; dance!" On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. Dancing. Bawdy Songs.

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their

goddesses from the ground."

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library: "A Treatise of Daunses wherin it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or thinges annexed) to whoredome; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joyned and knit togeather in a rancke or rowe with them. Anno 1581." Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 137. Also "A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing: wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccle. 9. 4. Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582." 8vo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt's Hand-

book, p. 195.

"Age. What woulde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently aliue, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabboth dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, whatnightes are ouerpassed without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toyes shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that may kindle Cupid's desire?-truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens have been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night. watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's grounde, and bring them home into their parishe with minstrels playing before? and when they haue set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men. Exod. 32, 6, and women togither, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue ¹ Cor. ¹⁰, ⁷. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp," &c. 1577.—John Northbrooke, A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, etc., ed. 1840, p. 175-176.

p. 171: barudy songs.

"He hath all that to villany belongs,
The hugest number of such baudy songs,
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)
That any man could beare them in his braine.
He hath a song cald, Mistris, will you do ? 1
And My man Thomas did me promise to, [to is too]

1 Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs :-

(2) "My man Thomas
Did me promise
He would visit me this night.
Thomas.] 'I am here, love;
Tell me, dear love;
How I may obtain thy sight.

Maid.] Come up to my window, love;
Come, come, come!
Come to my window, my dear;
The wind nor the rain
Shall trouble thee again,
But thou shalt be lodged here."

[1]

He hath the Pinnace rigd with silken saile, [3] And pretty Birds, with Garden Nightingale, [4, 5]Ile tye my Mare in thy ground a new way, [6] Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play] Besse for abuses, and a number more. That you and I have never heard before. And these among those wenches he doth learne, Which by activity their livings earne. His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes. Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609 .- S. Rowlands, A Crew of kind Gossips, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876,

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:- "See my Popular Music, p. 738, for My Man Thomas, A Pinnace riggd, and I'll tie my mare:

> 'A pinnace rigg'd with silken sail, What is more lovely than to see? But still to see, is small avail; I must aboord, as thinketh me.'

It is full of double meanings." In Pop. Mus., p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

by Old Merrythought:

"Go from my window, love, go; Go from my window, my dear: The wind and the rain Will drive you back again, You cannot be lodged here.

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy, Begone, my love, my dear I The weather is warm 'Twill do thee no harm; Thou can'st not be lodged here."

(3). "A pinnace rigg'd with silken saile" is extant in an early MS. (time noted, before 1609), belonging to a friend of mine. I will print it soon in The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems, for the Ballad Society.

"A pinnace rigg'd with silken saile, What is more lovely then to see? But still to see is small availe: I must aboord, as thinketh mee. To see is well, But more to tell Lackes more then sight, you will agree." (etc. four other verses.)

in thy ground." There is also another, the wise it call!"—J. W. Ebsworth.

Two other verses are elsewhere sung | "Tye the Mare, Tom, boy!" of early date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601) "Mistress, since you so much desire;"
probably resembling "Mistress will
you do?" (7) I believe that "Besse
for abuses" I also have a clue to; and
I know of one "Pretty Nightingale," of date 1575,

> "Litle pretty nightingale, Among the braunches greene, Geue us of your Christmasse ale, In the honour of Saint Steven."

But this is a "Mock" to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus :-

"The lytyll prety nyghtyngale, Among the levys grene, I wolde I were with hur all nyght, But yet ye wot not whome I mene,"

(4) I have also one song beginning "Ye pretty birds that chirp and sing; but its date is much later in the 17th century:—the author was not scrupul-ous in availing himself of elder sugges-(6) I have the Catch "I'le tye my Mare tions, and occasionally would "convey,

My man Thomas, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s Works, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancelld entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's Transcript, ii. 576:

7. marcij [1590-1]

Thomas Gosson Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentues of it

Entred for his copie a ballad of a yonge man that went a woaying &c. Abell Jeffes to be his printer hereof Provyded alwayes, that before the publishinge hereof the vndecentnes be in Diuerse verses, reformed

GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: games and sports. Here is a list of them in 1600:-"Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge, To iumpe or leape ouer a ditch or hedge, To wrastle, play at stooleball, or to runne, To pitch the barre, or to shoote off a gunne: To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes, To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes; At Ticktacke, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe;

At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe; To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne; To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan:

To daunce the Morris, play at barly-breake: At all exploytes a man can thinke or speake:

At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile:

At beshrow him that's last at yonder style."

1600. -S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's Brand, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: "noe manner of person. shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe . . . or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyshe, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlaufull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day kepinge . . or sufferinge any suche Game to be . . playde . . fourtie shillinges . . ." By § II "noe manner of Artyfycer or Craftes man of any handy crafte or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, servaunte at husbandrye, jorneyman or servaunte of artyficer, mariners, fysshermen, watermen, or any servyngman, shall . . playe at the Tables, Tennys. Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashe, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull, Game, out of Christmas, under peyne of twentye shillinges to be forfeyt for everie

tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters presence: and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orcharde, under the peyne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viijd.''

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tennys.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. Dicing. "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dicyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildinges, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomynation: they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discouer." 1586.—Geo. Whetstone, The Enemie to Vnthryftinesse . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestrates, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vnsufferable Abuses now raigning in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunset to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, . . . where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also . . Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into [bolling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies; but now we have taken up whoring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." Sermons, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. Football. Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle: the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football, 'p. 27. "Fatal Accident at a Football Match. - An inquest was held vesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Henniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances: -Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park, and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Baily had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Baily's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollected being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."—Daily News, March 19, 1875.

"Shocking Football Accident at Derby.—On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebræ were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."—Daily News, March

20, 1876. "Football and the Rugby Rules .- The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebræ. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death,' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the Birmingham Daily Post, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone :- 'I. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures. necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle: sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox."—Daily News, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the Echo, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1:—

"Killed at Football.—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14; also his Satyres, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. Bearbaiting.—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. Accident at the Bear-Garden. Stowe says—Annales, Eight persons 1605, p. 1173—"The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about fall of a foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaf-scaffold at the Bear garden, commonly called Paris garden, garden. on the Southside of the river of Thamis over against the citie of London, overcharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their lives. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabboth daies exercise."

p. 184: wrestling in the City of London:—"On Bartholomew day, for the Wrastling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sheriffes, The meeting at the Lord Maiors house on Bartholomew day. house on Bartholomew day. which dine with the Sheriffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrastling. When as the Wrastling is done; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service The Shoot- performed as upon Bartholomew day; but if it bee Sunday, the ing day. Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following." 1633-Continuation of Stowe's Suruay, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185: bawdy songs, &c. (See p. 314-16, above.)

"... our own children . . the first words
We form their tongues with, are licentious jests:
Can it call 'whore,' cry 'bastard'? O then, kiss it!

320 Notes on pp. 185, 186. Song-writers, &c.

A witty child! can't swear? The father's darling! Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it!"

1598-1601. - B. Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, II. iii. Works, i. 22, col. 1.

p. 185. Bableries, &c. "& in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money? What wyl they not faine for gaine? Hence come our babling Ballets, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which euery rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and euery ignorant Ale knight will breath forth ouer the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse; not vnlike to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet liuerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falshood." 1590.—T. Nashe, The Anatomie of Absurditie, B 4.

p. 186: putting good Laws into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.

Queene E. "Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne, an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulde, for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

"If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendshippe, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be rejected and cast oute of thys common wealth; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many rufians, blasphemers, and swingebucklers, so many drunkardes, tossepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, fencers, theeves, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruauntes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente." 1577.—John Northbrooke, A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

APPENDIX.

POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS

On Saints'-Days and Holy-Days

IN GERMANY
AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A. D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

"The Popish Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist, written in Latine verse by Thomas Naogeorgus (or Kirchmaier), and englyshed by Barnabe Googe. . . Anno 1570."

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos-two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church. with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great cagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. Trag. nova, Pammachius, Wittemberg, 1538, in 80 of 81 leaves. II. Tragadia nova, Mercator seu Judicium 1 (Bâle, 1540), in 80 of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif representles, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8° 1561, in 12° with the "Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin" (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 160; 1501 in 16°, 1594 in 12°. The translation of the "Marchand Converti" is attributed to I. Crespin. III. Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata. nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora, Wittemberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the 'Politica imperialia' of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis (Leipzig), 1543, in small 80; V. Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjunctæ sunt duæ Sophoclis tragediæ, Ajax flagellifer et Philoctetes, carmine versæ (Stuttgard), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. Agriculturæ sacræ libri V., ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. Regnum papisticum, 1553, small 80 of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the Errata and Index (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. Annotationes in canonicam Joannis primam epistolam, 1544, in 8°; XIII. Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scazonibus; XIV. De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," etc. Conclusiones, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. Epitome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroīca. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's "Discourses" from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plutarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the letters of Synesius (ibid, 1558, in 80), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 80. Some works by him are to be found in the Delicia poetarum Germanorum, vol. 4-Biographie Universelle, 2nd edition.]

⁴ Tragœdia, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.

APPENDIX.

The Popish Kingdome.

The fourth booke.

[The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.]

S Papistes doe beleue and teach the vaynest things that bee, [leaf 44] So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump Their feasts & all their holidayes they kepe throughout the Papists' Feasts and Holidays are yeare idolatrous and Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare: 4 heathenlike. Whereby though they do nothing teach, but should their doctrine hide, (Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be spide) Thou eafily mayft knowe whether true Catholikes they bee, And onely truft in Chrift, and keepe th'affured veritee. 8 They don't trust in Christ alone. Be therefore here a perfite Iudge, and all things warely way, With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay Most plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell,) But fuch as best are knowne to vs in Germanie that dwell. 12 And first betwixt the dayes they make no little difference, Con. 26. q. 7. For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminence. Si quis. Non obser. Quis. 16 q. 2. Nos pla-net. Sed & illua But some of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardee, And fome againe befide the rest, both good and luckie bee. Like diffrence of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king, q. 5. Non liceat. That made them all, not gracious were to them in every thing. Befide they give attentive eare to blinde Aftronomars, They attend to the Aspects of the Stars, and think folk's for-About th'aspects in euery howre of sundrie shining stars: And vnderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred, What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer euery hed. tunes are ruld by Hereby they thinke affuredly to know what shall befall, the Planets. As men that have no perfite fayth nor truft in God at all: 24 But thinke that euery thing is wrought and wholy guided here, By mooning of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare. No vaine they pearse nor enter in the bathes at any day, They'll not be bled, bathe, or Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away: 28 They also put no childe to nurse, nor mend with doung their ground, take medicine, Nor medicine do receyue to make their crased bodies sound,

without looking to the Moon's place.

[leaf 44, back]

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before They marke the Moone how she is placed, and standeth euermore: 32 And every planet howe they rife, and fet in eche degree, Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee. Which first I showe, least in my course I should be driven plaine, To call to minde these foolishe toyes, now to my theame againe.

Aduent.

On Christmas eve, boys and girls knock at every door, wish the inmates a happy year, and get fruit and pence from them.

Wanton girls try to find out their husbands' names by Onions,

and their husbands natures by Faggots.

Christmasse

daye. Some think all [leaf 45] the wine is turnd to water, and

back again. Others watch for altar-money.

3 Masses are sung;

Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace, And on the Thursday Boyes and Girles do runne in euery place. And bounce and beate at enery doore, with blowes and luftie fnaps, And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houses dwell, A happie yeare, and enery thing to fpring and prosper well: Here have they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man gives willinglee, For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee: Wherein they are afrayde of sprites, and cankred witches spight, And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then have chiefest might. In these same dayes youg wanton Gyrles that meete for mariage bee,

Doe fearch to know the names of them that shall their husbandes bee. Foure Onyons, fine, or eight, they take and make in euery one, Such names as they do fansie most, and best do thinke vpon. Thus neere the Chimney them they fet, and that fame Onyon than, That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man. Their husbandes nature eke they feeke to know, and all his guise, 53 When as the Sunne hath hid himselfe, and left the starrie skies, Unto some woodstacke do they go, and while they there do stande,

Eche one drawes out a faggot sticke, the next that commes to hande, Which if it streight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, A gentle hutband then they thinke shall furely to them fall. But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and theare A crabbed churlish husband then, they earnestly do feare. These things the wicked Papistes beare, and suffer willingly, Bicause they neyther do the ende, nor fruites of faith espie: And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust,

60

64

Than truely God to know, and in him here alone to trust. Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to passe, Whereas at midnight vp they rife, and euery man to Maffe.

This time fo holy counted is, that divers earneftly Do thinke the waters all to wine are channged fodainly: In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light, And vnto water streight againe, transformde and altred quight. There are befide that mindfully the money still do watch, That first to aultar commes, which then they privily do fnatch.

72 The Priestes least other should it haue, takes oft the same away, Whereby they thinke throughout the yeare to have good lucke in play, And not to lose: then straight at game till daylight do they striue, To make some present proofe how well their hallowde pence wil thriue. Three Masses euery Priest doth sing vpon that solemne day,

With offrings vnto enery one, that fo the more may play.

This done, a woodden childe in clowtes is on the aultar fet About the which both boyes and gyrles do daunce and trymly iet, 80 And Carrols fing in prayse of Christ, and for to helpe them heare, The Organs aunswere every verse, with sweete and solemne cheare. The Priestes doe rore aloude, and round about the parentes stande, To see the sport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande. Thus woont the Coribants perhaps vpon the mountaine Ide, 85 The crying noyse of Iupiter new borne with song to hide, To daunce about him round, and on their brasen pannes to beate, Least that his father finding him, should him destroy and eate. 88

Then followeth Saint Stephens day, whereon doth euery man, His horses iaunt and course abrode, as swiftly as he can. Untill they doe extreemely sweate, and than they let them blood, For this being done vpon this day, they say doth do them good, 92 And keepes them from all maladies and sicknesse through the yeare, As if that Steuen any time tooke charge of horses heare.

Next Iohn the fonne of Zebedee hath his appoynted day,
Who once by cruell tyraunts will, conftrayned was they fay
Strong poyfon vp to drinke, therefore the Papiftes doe beleeue,
That whofo puts their truft in him, no poyfon them can greeue.
The wine befide that halowed is, in worship of his name,
The Priestes doe give the people that bring money for the same. 100
And after with the selfe same wine are little manchets made,
Agaynst the boystrous winter stormes, and sundrie such like trade.
The men vpon this solemne day, do take this holy wine,
103
To make them strong, so do the maydes to make them faire and sine.

Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell Herodes strife, Who seeking Christ to kill, the king of euerlasting life, Destroyde the little infants yong, a beast vnmercilesse, And put to death all such as were of two yeares age or lesse. To them the sinfull wretchesse crie, and earnessly do pray, To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their sinnes away. The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all, (Though nothing they deserve) and servaunts all to beating sall, and Monkes do whip eche other well, or else their Prior great, Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat:

In worship of these Innocents, or rather as we see,
In honour of the cursed king, that did this crueltee.

The next to this is Newyeares day, whereon to euery frende, They coftly prefents in do bring, and Neweyeares giftes do fende. These giftes the husband gives his wise, and father eke the childe, And maister on his men bestowes the like, with favour milde.

120 And good beginning of the yeare they wishe and wishe againe, According to the auncient guise of heathen people vaine.

These eight dayes no man doth require his dettes of any man, Their tables do they furnish out with all the meate they can:

124 With Marchpaynes, Tartes, & Custards great, they drink with staring They rowte and reuell, seede and feast, as merry all as Pyes: [eyes,

and a wooden Child drest up, set on the altar. Boys and Girls daunce and sing round it, the Priests roar, and the Parents clan.

Saint Steuen. Dec. 26. Horses are gallopt till they sweat, to keep em well all the year.

Saint Iohn. Dec. 27.

Priests hallow wine, and sell it, and make Manchets with it, against storms.

[leaf 45, back] Childermasse. Dec. 28.

Parents beat their children, servants and Monks beat one another.

Newyeares day.

Gifts are made to every one.

For 8 days no man asks a debt. Great feasting goes on.

Twelfe day. January 6. Every set of friends chooses a King, and has a feast.	As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die, Yet would they have theyr bellyes full, and auncient friendes allie, 128 The wise mens day here foloweth, who out from Persia farre, Brought gifts and presents vnto Christ, conducted by a starre. The Papistes do beleeve that these were kings, and so them call, And do affirme that of the same there were but three in all. Here fundrie friendes togither come, and meete in companie, And make a king amongst themselves by voyce or destinie: Who after princely guise appoyntes, his officers alway, Then vnto feasting doe they go, and long time after play: Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie dishes stande, Till that their purses emptie be, and creditors at hande.
Children choose a Prince too.	Their children herein follow them, and choofing princes here, With pompe and great folemnitie, they meete and make good chere:
[leaf 46]	With money eyther got by ftealth, or of their parents eft, That so they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft.
Every house- holder makes a big cake, and	Then also every housholder, to his abilitie, Doth make a mightie Cake, that may suffice his companie: 144
puts a penny in it. It's cut up,	Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire, This he deuides according as his housholde doth require, And euery peece distributeth, as round about they stand,
and the man who gets the penny, is King, and is lifted up to the roof to make	Which in their names vnto the poore is giuen out of hand: But who so chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies, Is counted king amongst them all, and is with showtes and cries Exalted to the heauens vp, who taking chalke in hande,
crosses on the rafters, against spirits.	Doth make a croffe on every beame, and rafters as they stande: 152 Great force and powre have these agaynst all iniuryes and harmes Of cursed deuils, sprites, and bugges, of coniurings and charmes. So much this king can do, so much the Crofses brings to passe, Made by some servant, maide, or childe, or by some foolish affe. 156
At night, Frankincense is burnt, and all the family smoke their noses and eyes in it, to keep	Twife fixe nightes then from Christmasse, they do count with diligence, Wherein eche maister in his house doth burne vp Franckensence: And on the Table settes a loase, when night approcheth nere, Before the Coles, and Franckensence to be persumed there:
'em sound.	First bowing downe his heade he standes, and nose and eares, and eyes He smokes, and with his mouth receyue the sume that doth arise: Whom followeth streight his wife, and doth the same full solemly, And of their children euery one, and all their family: 164 Which doth preserve they say their teeth, and nose, and eyes, and eare, From euery kind of maladie, and sicknesse all the yeare. When every one receyued hath this odour great and small,
Then they carry the pan in pro- cession round the house, to keep witches off. They foretell the	Then one takes vp the pan with Coales, and Franckensence and all, An other takes the loafe, whom all the reast do follow here, 169 And round about the house they go, with torch or taper clere, That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme, Haue power to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172
year's weather too.	There are that three nightes onely do perfourme this foolish geare, To this intent, and thinke themselues in safetie all the yeare.

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside, They judge what weather all the yeare shall happen and betide: 176 Ascribing to ech day a month, and at this present time, The youth in euery place doe slocke, and all appareld fine, With Pypars through the streetes they runne, and sing at euery dore, In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: 180 Which on themselues they do bestowe, or on the Church, as though The people were not plagude with Roges and begging Friers enough. There Cities are, where boyes and gyrles togither still do runne, About the streete with like, as soone as night beginnes to come, 184 And bring abrode their wassell bowles, who well rewarded bee, With Cakes and Cheese, and great good cheare, and money plentiouslee.

Then commes in place faint Agnes day, which here in Germanie, Is not fo much efteemde, nor kept with fuch folemnitie: But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree, As fpring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee. For in faint Agnes Church vpon this day while Masse they sing, Two Lambes as white as fnowe, the Nonnes do yearely vie to bring: And when the Agnus chaunted is, vpon the aultar hie, (For in this thing there hidden is a folemne mysterie) They offer them. The feruaunts of the Pope when this is done, Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. 196 Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeses twaine, Whereof being sponne and drest, are made the Pals of passing gaine: Three fingers commonly in bredth, and wrought in compasse so, As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and brest, Haue labels hanging fomething lowe, the endes whereof are dreft, And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vefture blacke arayde, And last of all to make an ende, with knots are furely stayde. 204 O ioyfull day of Agnes, and to Papistes full of gaine, O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe. O happie they that fpin and weaue the fame, whose handes may touch This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. For by the same the Bishops have their full aucthoritie, And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie. Bestowing sometime eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes, Ere halfe the yeare be full expired, for these same pelting gownes. 212 Ne can they vie the Pall that was their prediceffors late, Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate, Till that he get one of his owne: with fuch like subtiltie, The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie.

Perchaunce fuch force doth not in these same holy Lambes remaine, Nor of it selfe the wooll so much, nor all the weauers paine, As these same powlers seeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought, Are streight waies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought, And vnderneath the aultar all the night they buryed lie,

Among saint Peters reliques and saint Paules his fellow bie.

[leaf 46, back]

Young men dresst-up, go singing thro the streets with Pipers.

Saint Agnes. Jan. 21.

Is kept at Rome solemnly.

2 snow-white lambs are offerd on the altar,

then put to grass and shorn; and their wool is made into narrow Palls,

with labels tipt with lead.

These Palls, Bishops and Archbishops are fore't to buy at high prices.

[leaf 47]

The Palls are put under the altar in St. Peter's, among his relics, for one night, and thence

	328 Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.
are thought to draw heavenly power.	From hence the facred iuyce they draw, and powre celeftiall, As if the holy ghost should give these Clarkes his vertue all. Straunge Reliques sure, and bodies eke of passing fanctitie,
	That to fuch lowfie clokes can giue fo great aucthoritie. Who would not more esteeme you nowe then when you here did liue, When as no clokes at all you did vnto your Bishops giue, Nor sed so many paunches great, nor shauen companies, 228
Foul deceits!	With foule illusions and deceytes and shamelesse suttesties? Now silver do you give and heapes of golde togither rake From every realme, and for a denne of theeves provision make. 232
What holy thing hav'n't the	Farre be it from me that I should thus of you beleeue or say: But what so holy in this worlde hath bene, or is this day, That this same wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine?
Papists turnd to gain?	Th'almightie Lord himselfe aboue in safetie cannot raigne. 236 Now here the Papistes do declare from whom at first did spring, The vse of this same pelting Pall, and this vnseemely thing. And here a thousand lyes they make, from auncient fathers olde,
	They say the first inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde To burthen Peter with the same, for feare they faint in proofe, But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of aloofe.
	Such folly and ambicion great, whereat you wonder may.
They say these	For Linus he that Peter first succeeded as they say, 244
Palls were insti- tuted by St. Peter's successor.	And guyded next the sea of Rome, first tooke this same in hande, That woollen garment might in steede of lynnen <i>Ephod</i> stande. But where was <i>Agnes</i> at this tyme? who offred vp and how,
[leaf 47, back]	The two white Lambes? where then was Maffe as it is vsed now? Yea where was then the popish state, and dreadfull Monarchee? 249 Sure in saint Austens time, there were no Palles at Rome to see: When Bishops all had equall powre, although as stories tell,
	The romifie Bishop did the reast in worthinesse excell. Thus Papistes neuer count it shame, nor any fault to lie, So they may get great summes of golde, and rayse their kingdome hie.
Candelmasse. Feb. 2,	Then comes the day wherein the virgin offred Christ vnto The father chiefe, as Moyses law commaunded hir to do. 256
Big Tapers are blest in Church, then lighted, put out, and kept to light against thunder, devils, and spirits that walk by night.	Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadful words to heare. This done, eche man his Candell lightes, where chiefest seemeth hee, Whose taper greatest may be seene, and fortunate to bee: 260 Whose Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might Doth in these Candels lie, which if at any time they light,
	They fure beleue that neyther ftorme nor tempest dare abide, Nor thunder in the skies be heard, nor any deuils spide, 264 Nor fearefull sprites that walke by night, nor hurts of frost or haile, How easily can these fellowes all these hurly burlyes quaile? That needlesse is it nowe to put their trust in Christ alone,
Blase. Feb. 3. The Holy-Water man.	Or to commit all things to him that fittes in chiefest throne. 268 Then followeth good sir Blase, who doth a waxen Candell giue, And holy water to his men, whereby they safely liue.

I divers Barrels oft have feene, drawne out of water cleare, Through one small blessed bone of this same holy martyr heare: 272 And carryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away, Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play: But in the meane time no man feekes for Christ and God aboue, Nor dare content themselves to have his favour and his love. Now when at length the pleafant time of Shrouetide comes in place, And cruell fasting dayes at hande approch with solemne grace: Then olde and yong are both as mad, as ghestes of Bacchus feast, And foure dayes long they tipple fquare, and feede and neuer reaft. Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings euery wheare Do fwarme: the Dice are shakte and tost, and Cardes apace they teare: In enery house are showtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route, And daintie tables fpred, and all be fet with gheftes aboute: With fundrie playes and Christmasse games, & feare and shame away, [leaf 48] The tongue is fet at libertie, and hath no kinde of flay. All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleafure paffed by, That in their mindes they can deuise, as if they then should die: 288 The chiefest man is he, and one that most deserueth prayse, Among the rest that can finde out the fondest kinde of playes. On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with luftie cheare, Whom boyes do follow, crying foole, and fuch like other geare. 292 He in the meane time thinkes himselfe a wondrous worthie man, Not mooued with their wordes nor cryes, do whatfoeuer they can. Some fort there are that runne with staues, or fight in armour fine, Or shew the people foolishe toyes, for some small peece of wine. 296 Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe, That readie are to turne themselues, as fortune lift to bowe. But fome againe the dreadfull shape of deuils on them take, And chase such as they meete, and make poore boyes for seare to quake. Some naked runne about the streetes, their faces hid alone, With vifars close, that so disguisde, they might be knowne of none. Both men and women chaunge their weede, the men in maydes aray, And wanton wenches dreft like men, doe trauell by the way, And to their neighbours houses go, or where it likes them best, Perhaps vnto fome auncient friend or olde acquainted ghest, Unknowne, and speaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp, That is before them fet, and cleane they fwinge of euery cup. Some runne about the ftreets attyrde like Monks, and fome like kings, Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other flately things. Some hatch yong fooles as hennes do egges with good and fpeedie lucke, Or as the Goofe doth vie to do, or as the quacking ducke. Some like wilde beaftes doe runne abrode in skinnes that diuers bee Arayde, and eke with lothfome shapes, that dreadfull are to see: They counterfet both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight, And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & stilts vpright. cranes or apes. Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and fome like fooles are dreft, Which best beseeme these Papistes all, that thus keepe Bacchus feast.

Barrels of it are drawn thro' one

Shrouetide (Shrove Tuesday varies from Feb. 3 to March 9). Is a regular Carnival. Drinking and feasting go on for 4 days, with cards, mirth, and revels.

Every one does as he likes,

and the best man is he who finds out the silliest games.

Some men get up fights;

some dress like Devils:

some run about naked.

Girls dress like men, and go and feast at neighbours' houses.

312 Some folk dress beasts, or

But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay. Some carry about a turd on And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away. 320 a cushion. I would there might an other be an officer of those, [leaf 48, back] Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery nose. Some others make a man all stuft with straw or ragges within, Some make a Guy, and toss Apparayled in dublet faire, and hofen paffing trim: 324 hun in a blanket. Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame, In blanket hid they beare about, and streightwayes with the same They hurle him vp into the ayre, not fuffring him to fall, And this they doe at divers tymes the Citie over all. 328 I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad, They dance lewdly. Nor other wanton sportes that on these holydayes are had. There places are where fuch as hap to come within this dore, Though olde acquainted friendes they be, or neuer feene before And fay not first here by your leaue, both in and out I go, They binde their handes behinde their backes, nor any difference tho They tie folk's hands behind Of man or woman is there made, but Basons ringing great, their backs, and dance before Before them do they daunce with joy, and fport in enery streat. them, jingling There are that certaine prayers have that on the Tuesday fall, basins. Against the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all. But others than fowe Onyon feede, the greater to be feene, And Persley eke, and Lettys both, to have them alwayes greene. Of truth I loth for to declare the foolishe toyes and trickes, That in these dayes are done by these same popish Catholickes: If snowe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee, If there's snow, they pelt one Then fooles in number great thou shalt in every corner see: 344 another with snowballs. For balles of fnow they make, and them one at another cast, Till that the conquerde part doth yeelde and run away at laft. No Matrone olde nor fober man can freely by them come, At home he must abide that will these wanton fellowes shonne. Rich men and Besides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree, their families, in Least they with common people should not seeme so mad to bee, waggons with fast horses, and There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete, 100 jingling bells round their And lustie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to seete 352 necks, gallop madly thro the They put therein, about whose necke and euery place before, A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more. streets. Their wives and children therein fet, behinde themselves do stande, Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hande, [leaf 49] With all their force throughout the streetes and market place they ron, As if some whirlewinde mad, or tempest great from skies should come. As fast as may be from the streates, th'amazed people flye, And gives them place while they about doe runne continually. Yea fometime legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte and all They ouerthrow, with fuch a force, they in their course doe fall. Much leffe they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the waye, Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye:

But even till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make,

Whereby they hinder men of fleepe, and cause their heades to ake.

This madness goes on up to midnight.

But all this fame they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare, So they may have their pleasure still, and foolish wanton geare. 368 The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go, Ashrvednesday (varies from Feb. To fponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed so, 4 to March to). They money giue, and on their heddes, the Priestes doth ashes lay, Priests lay ashes on folk's heads, And with his holy water washeth all their sinnes away: and wash all In woondrous fort against the venial sinnes doth profite this, their sins away with holy water. Yet here no flay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is, But still they go With mirth to dinner straight they go, and to their woonted playe, on with their And on their deuills shapes they put, and sprightish fonde araye. 376 Some fort there are that mourning go, with lantarnes in their hande, While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skies doth stande: And feeke their shroftide Bachanals, still crying enery where, 380 Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell fastes appere. They carry about a herring on a staff, and sing Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lowde doe rore. Herrings, herrings, flincking herrings, puddings now no more. doggrel rymes; or horse a man, And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish dogrell rimes, And what befide they can inuent, belonging to the times. and heave him into a pond. Some other beare upon a staffe their fellowes horsed hie, And carie them vnto fome ponde, or running river nie, That what fo of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne, May vnderneth the floud be plungde, and washt away againe. Some children doe intife with Nuttes, and peares abrode to play, And finging through the towne they go, before them all the way. In fome place all the youthfull flocke, with minstrels doe repaire, And out of euery house they plucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 302 Others pull girls And them to plough they straitwayes put, with whip one doth them hit, [leaf 49, back] Another holdes the plough in hande, the Minstrell here doth fit out, harness em in a plough, Amidde the fame, and drounken fonges, with gaping mouth he fings, Whome followeth one that fowes out fande, or afhes fondely flings. 396 When thus they through the streetes have plaide, the man that guideth and drive em thro the streets Doth drive both plough & maydens through fome ponde or river and some stream; And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee, To supper calles, and after that to daunfing lustilee. 400 and then sup and dance. The follie that these dayes is vide, can no man well declare, Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare. Even on Sunday On Sunday at the length they leave, their mad and foolish game, they drink and And yet not so, but that they drinke, and dice away the fame. 404 dice. Thus at the last to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare, Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approching doe appeare: Lent. In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor egges doe eate, And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a trespasse great: 408 (Ash-Wensday Roth Ling and faltfills they described the second the ast) only salt-Both Ling and faltfishe they denoure, and fishe of every forte, fish, Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte: But onyans, browne bread, leekes and falt, must poore men dayly gnaw onions, brown bread and leeks And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuisde this law are eaten.

The Images in Churches are coverd up, and painted cloths shown declaring God's wrath.

Care Sunday, Passion or Carle Sunday, the 5th in Lent.

(leaf 50)
All folk are
absolvd.
The boys draw a
guy of Death into
the country.

They have 2 buys of Summer and Winter, and make Summer beat Winter.

Palme Sunday (varies from March 15 to April 18).

They set a wooden Ass, ridden by an image, on wheels, before the Church door.
Folk bring boughs.

Two lubbers sing that the Image is Christ, For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull, Beleeuing not that all their finnes, were earst forgiuen full. Yet here these wosull soules he helpes, and taking money fast, Doth all things set at libertie, both egges and flesh at last.

The Images and pictures now are couerde secretlie, In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare, The wrath and furie great of God, and times that fasted are.

Then all men are constrained their sinnes, by cruell law to tell, And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell. From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth still arise, And of the Pope the shambles doth appeare in beastly wise.

Now comes the funday forth, of this same great and holy fast, Here doth the Pope the shriuen blesse, absoluing them at last, From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow, 428 As if the power of God had not sufficient bene till now. Or that the law of Moyses here, were still of force and might, In these same happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne wt heauenly light. The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monster here, And call him death, whom from the towne, with prowd & folemne chere To hilles and valleyes they conney, and villages thereby, From whence they stragling doe returne, well beaten commonly. Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about, And two they have, whereof the one is called Sommer fout: Apparalde all in greene, and dreft in youthfull fine araye, The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye: These two togither fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get, From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whiftles wet. The other toyes that in this time, of holly fastes appeare, 441 I loth to tell, nor order like, is vied euery wheare.

Here comes that worthie day wherein, our fauior Christ is thought, To come vnto Ierusalem, on affes shoulders brought: When as againe these Papistes fonde, their foolish pageantes haue, With pompe and great folemnitie, and countnaunce wondrous graue. A woodden Asse they have, and Image great that on him rides, But vinderneath the Affes feete, a table broade there flides, Being borne on wheeles, which ready dreft, and al things meete therfore The Asse is brought abroade and set before the Churches doore: The people all do come and bowes of trees and palmes they bere, Which things against the tempest great, the Parson conjures there, And straytwayes downe before the Asse, upon his face he lies, Whome there an other Priest doth strike with rodde of largest sile: He rifing vp, two lubbours great vpon their faces fall, In straunge attire and lothsomely, with filthie tune they ball: 456 Who when againe they risen are, with stretching out their hande, They poynt vnto the woodden knight, and finging as they stande Declare that that is he that came, into the worlde to faue, And to redeeme such as in him their hope assured haue: 460

And even the fame that long agone while in the streate he roade, The people mette, and Oliue bowes fo thicke before hym stroade. This being foung, the people cast the braunches as they passe, Some part vpon the Image, and fome part vpon the Affe. Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly, This done, into the Church he strayght, is drawne full solemly: The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast, Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast: 468 For falfely they believe that these, have force and vertue great, Against the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flashing heate. Are Idoles worshipt otherwise, are these not wicked things? Euen I my felfe haue earst behelde, both wise and mightie Kings 472 Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees have kneelde, Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yeelde. In fome place wealthie Citizens, and men of fober chere For no small summe doe hire this Asse, with them about to bere, 476 And manerly they vie the same, not suffering any by, To touch this Affe, nor to prefume vnto his prefence ny: For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue, 480 And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deferue. If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this, I fure beleeue he is not much deceyude, nor thinkes amis. When as the Priestes and people all have ended this the sport, The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church refort: 484 The Sexten pleased with price, and looking well no harme be done, They take the Asse, and through the streetes, & crooked lanes they rone, Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise, The people giving money, breade, and egges of largest cife. Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue, Least he alone without his portion of the Asse shoulde line.

From Thurseday then till Easter come, the fondest toyes have place Manndy Therin these cathlikes think themselves, great men of wondrous grace Thursday (Day before Good Friday). Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace First three dayes space the belles are wilde, in silence for to lie, When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie. The boyes in euery streat doe runne, and noyses great they make, While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake. 496 Thre nightes at midnight vp they rife, their Mattens for to heare, Appoynted well with clubbes and flaues, and flones in order theare: The Sexten straightwayes putteth out the candles speedely, And straight the Priest with rustie throte, alowde begins to cry. Then furious rage begins to spring, and hurlyburly rife, On pewes and deskes and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise: Thou wouldst suppose they were possest, with sprightes and deuills all, Or fury fuch as forceth them, that vpon Baccus call. Some beaten downe with clubbes and staues, amongst the pewes do ly And others almost brainde with stones, or wounded mortally. Well ferues the darckenesse for these deedes, and thereto doth agree, The fashions like of enery one, that thus enraged bee.

the people cast their boughs on the Image.

[leaf 50, back] The Ass is drawn into the church, and folk pick up the boughs to protect them from

(Some rich men hire this Ass and take it about with em.)

After dinner boys drag the Ass about the streets, and get money and eggs for it; half of which goes to the Priest.

For 3 days the bells are still, and then rung lowdly. 3 Mid-night services are held in Church, the lights are put out, and a regular shindy [leaf 51]

men being beaten and wounded.

Here wicked Iudas all to torne, with vile reproches lies,

Then candles are lighted, and a round an image's neck.

The Bishop's oil and classes are blest, and the altar-cloths washt.

The Monks make their Maundy, and wash each other's feet.

Then they take to loaf and pot.

[leaf 51, back]

Good friday varies from March 22 to April 25). 2 Priests lay the Image of the Crucifix on

Turkey carpets

wooden God.

The simple folk bring gifts, sweet to the poll-shorn crew.

And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childish cries. That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee, And through hir powre deliuer them, from hurt and miseree. 512 These things vnto these feastes belonges, the candles being light, An Image fastned to a crosse is caried all vpright: A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to fhew the way, Are not these popish foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play? 516 This day the oyle and glasses of the Bishop hallowed bee, And twife three times faluting them, he lowly bendes his knee. The Cannons after doe the fame, with laughter wouldst thou faint, And woonder farre to see them make, their speechelesse glasse a faint. Their dinner done, from th'aultar all their coftly clothes they take, And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and bromes that they doe make: Then water on they powre and wine croffwise there on they lay, And to the patron of ech aultar, humbly doe they pray, That they vouchfafe to looke vpon theyr feruaunts worshipping, And to aswage the furie great, of *love* the thundring King. And here the Monkes their maundie make, with fundrie folemne rights And fignes of great humilitie, and wondrous pleafaunt fights. Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie, With hatefull minde, and fecret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye As if that Christ with his examples, did these thinges require, And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free defire, 532 Ech one fupplying others want, in all things that they may, As he himselfe a seruaunt made, to serue vs euery way. Then strait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in euery place they skinke Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to pleasaunt damsels drinke, And fure with no diffembling heart, for true as feele they bee, And often times they put in proofe their great fidelitee. Two Priestes the next day following, upon their shoulders beare, The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare: 540 Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they fing At length before the steps his coate pluckt of they straight him bring, And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly, With cushions vinderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped hie: 544 and worship this Then flat vpon the grounde they fall, and kiffe both hande and feete, And worship so this woodden God, with honour farre vnmeete. Then all the shauen fort falles downe, and followeth them herein, As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin: 548 And after them the fimple foules, the common people come,

And worthip him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and filuer fome:

And others corne or egges againe, to poulshorne persons sweete, And eke a long defired price, for wicked worship meete.

And Christ that enery where doth raigne, a laughing stocke to make,

How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here Be Catholike, and like the spowes of Christ accounted dere? Besides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.

552

An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade, The Priests dress and bring With legges ftretcht out at length and handes, vpon his body fpreade: an image of And him with pompe and facred fong, they beare vnto his graue, Christ. His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and filkes and farcenet braue, 560 The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyfes make, Boys make The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take: clappers And downe they kneele, or kiffe the grounde, their handes helde vp abrod And knocking on their breaftes they make, this woodden blocke a God. And least in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie, 565 The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie: Singing bread is laid with the The Priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne, image in the And franckensence and sweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne: grave; With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriars stay, Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray: And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the grave flowers are strewn about it. They straw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they have. and Dirges The finging men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule. 574 sung. On Easter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place, Easter eue. And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solemne grace: All fires are put out; and a The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one, brand blest, to A brande whereof doth euery man with greedie minde take home, 578 keep off storms. That when the fearefull storme appeares, or tempest blacke arise, By lighting this he fafe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skies: A Taper great, the paschall namde, with musicke then they blesse, The Paschal Taper is burnt And franckensence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse: day and night. This burneth night and day as figne, of Christ that conquerde hell, As if so be this foolish toye, suffiseth this to tell. Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow straight, Water is made That for their baptisme is reserved: for now no more of waight holy for next year's baptisms. Is that they vide the yeare before, nor can they any more, Yong children christen with the same, as they have done before. With woondrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go, With candles, croffes, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho: 500 Nine times about the font they marche, and on the faintes doe call, A Procession marches 9 times round the font, Then still at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall, And thrife the water doth he touche, and croffes thereon make, and the Priest hallows the Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake: And holfome waters conjureth, and foolifhly doth dreffe, Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did bleffe: And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the floode, And thrife he breathes thereon with breath, that stinkes of former foode: And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon, pouring his Chrism on it. 599 The people staring hereat stande, amazed every one: Beleeuing that great powre is given to this water here, By gaping of these learned men, and such like trisling gere. Therefore in veffels brought they draw, and home they carie fome, Folk carry some home, and Against the grieues that to themselves, or to their beastes may come.

Then Clappers ceasse, and belles are set againe at libertee, 605 And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee. fasting is over. At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries, Easter day. The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies: 608 [leaf 52, back] The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight) They take the They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white, buried Image out of the grave. And rounde about ech place appeeres, all voyde of standers by Saue onely that the watchmen there, amazed feeme to ly. 612 But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer fee, Nor of the heavenly messenger, the flaming maiestie. An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring, put another on the Altar, and sing 'Christ is risen.' And on the aultar place, and then, they lustily doe fing, 616 That Gates of hell a funder burst, and Sathan ouerthrowne, Christ from his graue is risen vp, and now aliue is knowne. Which yet they thinke not so be, as plainely doth appeare, By their Religion, doubtes, and feare, and by their doings here. In some place solemne sightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd, Pageants are playd by maskers: as the With fundrie fortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd, As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see, 3 Maries at the Sepulchre. And Iohn with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee. 624 These things are done with iesture such, and with so pleasaunt game, That even the grauest men that live, woulde laugh to see the same. At midnight strait, not tarying till the daylight doe appeere, Feasting begins at midnight. Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere. They rost their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radish store, And trifles, clouted creame, and cheefe, and whatfoeuer more At first they list to eate, they bring into the temple straight, 631 That so the Priest may halow them with wordes of wondrous waight. The Friers befides, & pelting Priestes, from house to house doe roame, Friars and Priests get fees, Receyuing gaine of euery man that this will haue at home. Radishes are Some raddish rootes this day doe take before all other meate, eaten against Against the quartan ague and such other sicknesse great. 636 the quartan ague. What should I shew their forced fayth and great hypocrifie, When as of Chift they doe receyue the dredfull mifterie? Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope, Papists don't For none of them believeth here, nor none of them doth hope believe in life by That they receyue eternall life, and euerlasting seate, Christ alone. By death of Iefus Chrift, and by his croffe and triumph great. For who should teache to them the same, since enery Popes decree, Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee? 644 [leaf 53] Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe, Then folk fall to And to their woonted life they fall, and bid the reast adewe: their old life Go nowe and laugh the Iewes to fcorne, and all the Turkes that bee, again. For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree. Sure wondrous wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare Them with these doltish Papistes here, that blinde and beastly are. Procession Nowe comes the day wherein they gad abrode, with croffe in hande, weeke. (Rogation To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande:

And as they go, they fing and pray to euery faint aboue, 653 But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue. When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in, And looke what faint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him, That he preserve both corne and fruite, from storme and tempest great, And them defend from harme, and fend them flore of drinke and meat. This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, Where downe they fit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine, So much that oftentymes without the Croffe they come away, And miferably they reele, till as their stomacke vp they lay. These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport, With many Croffes often they vnto some Church resort, Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there streight doth spring, A bawling noyfe, while euery man feekes hyghest for to fing: The Prieftes give eare, this madneffe them doth most of all content, And wine to them that passe the reast, is from the Parson sent. Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers seate, Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate. Then every man fome birde must eate, I know not to what ende, And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. The blocke that on the aultar still, till then was seene to stande, Is drawne vp hie aboue the roofe, by ropes, and force of hande: The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie. For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. 676 Then out of hande the dreadfull shape of Sathan downe they throw, Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a funder tho, The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall, And beate him fore with rods, and breake him into peeces fmall. 680 This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and singing Cakes the while, With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile. With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let Great streames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet. And thus this folemne holiday, and hye renowmed feaft, And all their whole deuotion here, is ended with a leaft.

On Whitfunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in ftrings from heauen flie, And one that framed is of wood, still hangeth in the skie.

Thou feest how they with Idols play, and teach the people to, None otherwise then little gyrles with Puppets vse to do.

Then doth ensue the solemne feast of Corpus Christi day,
Who then can shewe their wicked vse, and fonde and foolish play?
The hallowed bread with worship great, in siluer Pix they beare 693
About the Church, or in the Citie passing here and theare.
His armes that beares the same, two of the welthiest men do holde,
And ouer him a Canopey of silke and cloth of golde 696
Foure others vse to beare alouse, least that some silthie thing
Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir doung thereon should sling.
Christes passion here derided is, with sundrie maskes and playes,
Faire Ursley with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes: 700

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

Sunday is the 5th after Easter Day.) Bounds are beaten,

Then folk dine and drink at the tavern or in the fields.

This lasts 3 days.

Ascention day (varies from April 30 to June 3).

Birds are eaten (as ascenders). The Image on the Altar (p. 336), is heavd above the roof. One of Satan is thrown down, and broken to

[leaf 53, back]

pieces.

Water is let fall on people below.

Whitsunday (varies from May 10 to June 13). White Pigeons are flown.

Corpus Christi
day
(Thursday after
Trinity Sunday,
May 17 to June
20).
Hallowd bread
is borne about
the Church under
a canopy.

Plays of Christ's Passion are 700 acted; of Ursula

and her Virgins; St. George and the Dragon,	And valiant George, with fpeare thou killeft the dreadfull dragon he The deuils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere A wondrous fort of damned sprites, with soule and searefull looke Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brook	;
St. Sebastian,	Sebaffian full of feathred fhaftes, the dint of dart doth feele;	705
St. Katherine,	There walketh Kathren with hir fworde in hande, and cruell whee	ele:
St. Barbara, and other	The Challis and the finging Cake, with Barbara is led,	
Pageants.	And fundrie other Pageants playde in worthip of this bred,	708
	That please the foolish people well: what should I stande vpon, Their Banners, Crosses, Candlestickes, and reliques many on,	
	Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Prieftes with countnance lie	e
		712
St. John walks	Saint Iohn before the bread doth go, and poynting towardes him,	
before the Hallowd Bread.	Doth shew the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne:	
Hallowd Dicad.	On whome two clad in Angels shape, do sundrie flowres sling,	
	A number great of facring Belles, with pleasant sounde doe ring.	716
[leaf 54]	The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and every streete best	
	And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tie	
	The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are fent, The Priestes and schoolemen lowde do rore, some vse the instrume	
Strangers fall on	The fraunger passing through the streete, vpon his knees doe fall:	
their knees to it.	And earneftly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call.	,
	For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take	
		724
Armd men keep order, and look	A number great of armed men here all this while doe stande,	
out for thieves.	To looke that no diforder be, nor any filching hande:	
	For all the Church goodes out are brought, which certainly would A bootie good, if every man might have his libertee.	pee 728
	This bread eight dayes togither they in presence out do bring,	/20
Organs play,	The Organs all do then refound, and priestes alowde do sing:	
folk fall on their faces, the Bread	The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie,	
is lifted up, &c.	Beleeuing that they fee their God, and foueraigne maiestie.	732
	The like at Masse they doe, while as the bread is lifted well,	
	And Challys shewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell.	
	O bleffed God, why fuffrest thou such wickednesse to raigne,	
	And bringst them not into the steppes of fathers olde againe, Whereof they do so often boast? yet so vnlike them be,	736
	That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree.	
	In Villages the husbandmen about their corne doe ride,	
Priests ride thro' the corn,	117'.1 0 0 0 0	740
and read the	Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the bleffed breade,	
Gospel to keep off storms,	And oftentyme he downe alightes, and Gospell lowde doth reade.	
	This furely keepes the corne from winde, and raine, and from the bl	ast:
	Such fayth the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papistes holde it fast	
	Not taken from the Gospell, nor the worthie doctors olde, But from the minde of man, and from blinde reason mistresse bold	745
Saint Vrban	Straight after this comes Vrlan in, the Vintners God deuine,	ie.
(May 25).	Whose day if that it pleasant be, and Sunne abrode do shine,	748
		1 7

Good lucke to them they count it then, and Bacchus holinesse, His Image and his Church they decke, and curioufly do dreffe, About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde, And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to fome tipling house, With luftie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carrouse: Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie, In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handsomly, Till myftes before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake, Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & scarce a word they speake. But if the day be clowdie nowe, or given vnto raine, On him they lift not to bestow such honour, nor such paine, Poore knaue into fome ryuer than, they cast him cruellie, And all to-fouse him in the streame, or durtie let him lie. And if this madnesse be not such, as may be laught at well, What thing should mooue vs for to laugh, I surely can not tell. 764 The next is Vitus fodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,

The next is *Vitus* fodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire, Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire: The cause whereof I doe not know, I thinke for some disease,

Which he is thought to driue away from such as him do please. 768
Then doth the ioyfull feast of Iohn the Baptist take his turne,
When bonfiers great with lostie flame, in euery towne doe burne:
And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in euery streete,
With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or else with Veruain sweete,
And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes,
Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whosoeuer standes,
And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.
When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine

With striuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they cast therin, And then with wordes deuout and prayers, they solemnely begin, 778 Desiring God that all their illes may there consumed bee, Whereby they thinke through all that yeare, from Agues to be free. Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside, Which coursed round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide:

And carved to some mountaines ton, being all with fire light.

And caryed to fome mountaines top, being all with fire light, 783 They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appeares the night: Refembling much the Sunne, that from the heauens downe should fal, A straunge and monstrous sight it seems, and searefull to them all: But they suppose their mischieses all are likewise throwne to hell, And that from harmes and daungers now, in safetie here they dwell.

Wherefoeuer Huldryche hath his place, the people there brings in, Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mullets fat, his fauour here to win. 790 Amid the Church there fitteth one, and to the aultar nie, That felleth fish, and so good cheepe, that every man may buie: Nor any thing he loseth here, bestowing thus his paine, For when it hath beene offred once, t'is brought him all againe, 794 That twise or thrise he selles the same: vngodlinesse such same.

Doth still bring in, and plentiously the kitchin doth maintaine.

He's the Vintners' God, and has cups and bowls hung round his neck. They drink [leaf 54, back] to him till they're drunk.

760 But if it's a bad day, they shy him into the river.

Vitus (June 15). Hens are offerd to him. Why?

Iohn Baptist (June 24). Bonfires burn; youths and girls dance all day with flowers in their hands.

At night they run thro the fires.

Others run a wheel stufft with blazing straw and tow, down a mountain.

[leaf 55]
Saint Huldryche
(Ulric, July 4).
Fish are offerd to him.

A man sits near the altar, and sells the same fish over and over again to the offerers.

Whence comes this same religion newe? what kind of God is this Same Huldryche here, that so desires, and so delightes in sishe?

Which neuer any heathen God, in offring did receaue,
Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leaue.

Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe,
But we the chiefest will declare, and write but of a fewe.

The blotled virgin Maries feast, both here his place and time.

Assumption of the Virgin Marie (Aug. 15). Folk bring bundles of Herbs to Church, to be blest by the priest. These serve as charms. The bleffed virgin Maries feaft, hath here his place and time, Wherein departing from the earth, fhe did the heauens clime: Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people faft doe beare, The which against all hurtfull things, the Priest doth hallow theare. Thus kindle they and nourish still, the peoples wickednesse, 807 And vainely make them to beleeue, whatsoeuer they expresse: For sundrie witchcrasts, by these hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes, And cast into the fire, are thought to driue away all harmes, 810 And euery painefull griefe from man, or beast, for to expell, Farre otherwise than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

Martyn (Nov. 11). Roast geese are eaten, and wine drunk. To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more encline, Whom all the people worshippeth, with rosted Geese and wine: 814 Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes His vessels all, and of the Must oft times the last he takes, Which holy Martyn afterwarde, alloweth to be wine, Therefore they him vnto the skies extoll, with prayse deuine: 818 And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compasse wide,

Schoolmasters go about singing with their boys.

For with his scholers every one, about do finging go,
Not prayfing Martyn much, but at the Goose reloyceing tho,
Whereof they oftentymes have part, and money therewithall,
For which they celebrate this feast, with song and musicke all.

Yea by these fees the Schoolemaisters have profite great beside:

[leaf 55, back] Nicholas (Nov. 13). Mothers hide gifts in their children's shoes, &c., and say St. Nicholas brought em.

Saint Nicholas money vide to giue to Maydens fecretlie,
Who, that he still may vie his woonted liberalitie

The mothers all their children on the eeue doe cause to fast,
And when they euery one at night in senselesse fleepe are cast:
Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things beside,
As caps, and shooes, and petticotes, which secretly they hide,
As caps, and in the morning found, they say, that this saint Nicholas brought:
Thus tender mindes to worship Saints and wicked things are taught.

Catheryn (Nov. 25).

What should I tell what Sophisters, on Cathrins day deuise? Or else the superstitious toyes that Maisters exercise.

Andrew (Nov. 30). All Lovers court him, Or else the superstitious toyes that Maisters exercise.

To Andrew all the louers, and the lustie wooers come,
Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremonies done,
(While as to him they presentes bring, and coniure all the night)
To have good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and sweete delight.

Church holyday. The anniversary of each church's dedication. The dedication of the Church is yerely had in minde,
With worship passing Catholicke, and in a wondrous kinde:
From out the steeple hie is hangde, a Crosse and banner fayre,
The pauement of the temple strowde, with hearbes of pleasant ayre,
The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are seene,
And every pewe and piller great, are deckt with boughes of greene:

The church is deckt with boughs.

Appendix. Popish and Popular Customs, A.D. 1553. 341

The tabernacles opned are, and Images are dreft, But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine aboue the rest: A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thick they lay, A board stands full of Pardons 848 That given are to every one that keepes this holy day: The Idoll of the Patron eke, without the doore doth stande, And beggeth fast of euery man, with pardons in his hande: for every one Who for bicause he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill In common peoples languages, when they fpeake well or ill: 852 He hath his owne interpretor, that alwayes standeth by, And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry: who'll buy em. Defiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to have in minde, And Popishe pardons for to buie, release of sinnes to finde. The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue, His harlot for to bring, and all the fwarme of Bastards that they have: Harlots and their Bastards On every fide the neighbours come, and fuch as dwell not nere, come; and all Come of their owne good willes, and fome required to be there. 860 the neighbours armd: trim And every man his weapon hath, their fwordes, and launces long, [leaf 56] Their axes, curriars, pystolets, with pykes and darts among. youths and The yong men in their best array, and trimmest maydes appeare, maidens, jesters, pedlers, and pots of drink. Both Ieasters, Roges, and minstrels with their instruments are heare. The Pedler doth his packe vntruffe, the Hoft his pots doth fill, And on the table bread and drinke doth fet for all that will: Nor eyther of them their heape deceynes, for of the others all, To them th'aduauntage of this feaft, and gaine, doth chiefly fall. 868 After service, grand feasting The feruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie, Or to their neighbours house, whereas they feede vnreasonablie: and suppers go For fixe or feuen courfes, they vnto the table bring, And for their fuppers may compare with any heathen king. The table taken vp, they rife, and all the youth apace, Then the young The Minstrell with them called go to some convenient place: folk dance, Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Muficke fine, And vnto fuch as are preparde to daunce hath given figue, Comes thither streight both boyes and gyrles, and men that aged bee, And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to see, Old wrinckled hagges, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft, and old hags Then fundrie pastimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft: When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight, the Drunkards leading and That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plight: fighting. The streames of bloud runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is seene The carkaffe of fome ruffian flaine, is left vpon the greene. Lovers buy their Here many for their louers fweete, fome daintie thing doe buie, sweethearts fairings. And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for companie, Whereas they foolish fongs do fing, and noyses great do make: Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and fome the Dice do shake. Cards and Dice are playd. The Priest is head reveller, Their custome also is, the Priest into the house to pull: Whom when they haue, they thinke their game accomplished at full: He farre in noyfe exceedes them all, and eke in drinking drie the spewing Drunkards. The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their heades that the ewing lie,

803

899

934

And that with fuch attendaunce good, that often therewithall His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all: Whom if the lyquor that he taftes doe hap to handle fo, As on his feeble legges vnto his house he can not go: But reele and stagger here and there, as oftentymes is seene, They friendly fet him on a horse, and home they cary him cleene: To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray,

Is alwayes vide upon this feast, and venerable day.

For foules departed from this life, they also carefull bee, The shauen fort in numbers great, thou shalt assembled see, 002 Where as their feruice with fuch speede, they mumble out of hande, That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vinderstande, But foberly they fing, while as the people offring bee, 906

For to release their Parents foules that lie in miferee. For they beleeve the fliauen fort, with dolefull harmonie,

Do draw the damned foules from hell, and bring them to the skie: Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine, And neuer troubled are with care of any foule in paine. 910

Their feruice thus in order fing, and payde for Maffe and all, They to the Tauerne streightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall,

Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke, Whereas these Cathlicke fathers have such lewde and beastly talke, As doutlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes, 915

And fuch as any ruffian would, ashamed be to vse. These are their chiefe solemnities, and orders all the yeare, 810 Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare:

And doth declare thou feeft the mindes of these same holy men, What vertues great they have, and what religion lyes in them.

The like their temples teach, dreft vp in more than Pagan guise, That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies, As Idols, aultars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane, And Banners, Croffes, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame Before the Virgins Image fayre, and bread in fecret put,

That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell close is shut: 926 That furely not vnworthily the Turkes beleeue and fay,

The Papistes are Idolaters, and haue no perfite way In feruing God, who yet account themselues assuredly,

The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry. Seeft thou how in their life they doe beleeue, and when they die, How doubtfull they? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie,

Regarding not what happe vnto the simple people falles: For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles, Their finging and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit Himselse to God, his heyre should be constrained to furnish it, And punisht fore if any thing herein shall wanting bee,

Of all the toyes that doth belong, to fuch folemnitee. 938 Thinkst thou they carefull are that soules, the heavens doe attaine,

And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine?

When the Priest can't walk, [leaf 56, back] he's carrid home on horseback

All soulne day Nov. 2).

Folk give fees to free their parents' souls;

then drink in the tavern, or the Parson's hall, where he talks beastliness.

Churches.

They have Idols, always-flaming lights, &c.

The Turks rightly call em Idolaters.

Funerals.

[leaf 57] The rites are held only for Shavelings' gain.

Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse, Even for innocent children For to be inft, and innocent, and dye in bleffednesse: parents are forcd to pay. Their parentes for their funeralles, constrayned are to pay, Least of the Popish tyranny, should any part decay. No fayth nor perfit godlinesse doth any where appeare, But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and fuch deceitfull geare. 946 Beholde againe their prayers and the bookes they occupie, Prayers. Wherewith to God, and to the faintes, they pray continually: And to the Angells vse the like: which supersticious kinde, Are not prayd with zeal, only They doe not reade with any sprite, or zealousnesse of minde: No cause prouoketh them to praye, this onely them assinde, babbled To babble much, for otherwife woulde want no wordes nor minde, Ne shoulde they neede so many prayers, appoynted them to fay, Nor thus to tire their weeried tongue, with mumbling all the day. and mumbled Likewise before the heapes of bones, prepared for the same They stande, and to the spirits and soules in graue, they prayers frame: And for their good estate they pray, that measure none they know, Of foolithnesse, nor wicked deedes doe euer ceasse to flow: To Church they come with beades of bone, or of fome other thing, Papists have Rosaries of hone-Whose middles pierced through are tide, and joyned with a string: beads on a Thus fastned, fiftie Rosaries, they still account the same, string, And thrife fo many *Pfalters* they accustomde are to name. With these vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his faintes, and count their They number all their babling wordes, and all their tedious plaintes. babblings by em. So that they number onely feeke, not caring for the minde: 966 That woman holyest is by much, and of deuoutest kinde, The holiest woman is she who has beads Whose beades vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whose maydens so to her foot. Dreft vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Church doe go. [leaf 57, back] Befides for Charmes and Sorferies, in all things they excell, Charmes. Both Dardan and the Witches foule, that by Mæotis dwell. 970 The reason is, that yet to trust in God they have no skill, Nor will commit themselues vnto th'almightie fathers will. If any woman brought abed, amongst them haps to lie, When a woman's brought to bed, Then every place enchaunter lyke, they clenfe and purifie: they purify the For feare of sprightes least harme she take, or caried cleane away, Be stolne from thence, as though she than in greatest daunger lay, When as hir trauailes ouerpast, and ended well hir paine, With rest and sleepe she seekes to get, hir strength decayde againe. The like in trauailes harde they vie, and mariages aswell, And eke in all things that they buy, and euery thing they fell. About these Catholikes necks and hands, are alway hanging charmes, Charms hang about every Papist's neck. That ferue against all miseries, and all vnhappie harmes: Amongst the which, the threatning writ of Michael maketh one, And also the beginning of the Gospell of Saint Iohn: But these alone they doe not trust, but with this same they have, Theyr barbrous wordes, & croffes drawne with bloud, or painted braue. Crosses drawn with blood, &c., They fwordes enchaunt, and horses strong, and slesh of men they make So harde and tough, that they ne care, what blowes or cuttes they take

keep men from hurt by bows.

They shut up spirits in crystal as charms.

Holydayes. Folk dress fine, and walk in the streets or the fields.

Others drink as long as they can [leaf 58]

Few go to church.

After dinner they play at ball, and wrestle,

or fence.

Others play cards, or backbite.

All drink.

No Sunday is without a drunken fray.

Some court girls,

dance, and go further.

Stewes. The Papist Priests keep

And ving Necromancie thus, them felues they fafely keepe, 080From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe: No iourney also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare; Befides in gliftering glaffes fayre, or elfe in chriftall cleare They fprightes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the same They go, if any thing be ftolne, or any taken lame, 994 And when theyr Kine doe give no milke, or hurt, or bitten fore,

Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.

Now last behold how they do keepe, their sabboth daies throghout, First in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about: With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace, And rapyres long about them girt, their great and chiefest grace. Some others walke into the fieldes, or elfe at euery gate, They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate. 1002 An other fort togither come, and drinking hande to hande, They quaffe so long, till none of them be able for to stande: Yea oftentimes they in their feates, with drinke are ftrangled quight, And yeelding up their dronken ghoftes, doe bid their mates godnight. But few of them doe care for Masse, though euery one doe saye,

And thinke it holieft is, nor to the Church they go to praye: But eyther breakefastes long they make, at home when they arise, Or drinke vntill the evening starre, begin to shine in skies. Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the marketsted. Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well have fed, To play they go, to casting of the stone, to runne, or shoote, To toffe the light and windie ball, aloft with hande or foote:

Some others trie their skill in gonnes, some wrestle all the day, And fome to schooles of fence do go, to gaze vpon the play: An other fort there is that doe not loue abroade to roame, But for to passe their time at cardes, or tables still at hoame:

Some vie to fit before their doores, and backbite euery man, Or newes deuise, or some debate, and strife whereas they can. The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their sportes and play,

1018

1023

1032

Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away, Of every worde ariseth blowes, their manhoode to affay, So that no funday shalt thou see, without some dronken fray. And thus of custome endeth still, this solemne festivall,

With dronkennesse, a plague vnto the braine and members all. To Enfong are they called straight, by towling of the bell, 1027 But from their place they lift nor flirre, being occupied fo well: They forwarde with their game doe go, and Church and feruice all, Commit vnto the schoolemaisters, or Vicar generall.

Some others to their Ladies fues, being amorous all the while, Or frame deceytes or fubtilties, yong maydens to beguile,

The wanton youth to daunfing goes, and wickedly doe draw, The maydes in ring, and wantonnesse hath neyther bondes nor law. And least the youth their pleasure sull of whoredome should not take, In euery Citie common stewes, they maintaine and they make:

And Bawdes they fuffer openly, and cherish them withall, Brothels and Bawds, in every Of whome no flender price doe here receyue nor profit fmall: city. These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie, The fame that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks deftroy. To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes, Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042 Brothels come all Whatfoeuer they be that have not yet, the yoake of mariage tride, unmarrid folk. No kinde of shame doth drive them hence, nor any care beside. For lawfull here they doe it fee, and not to be dispifde, But with the Popish fort to be, an exercise denistde. 1046 Sometime it also haps, that maried men doe here refort, If any marrid ones are caught But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull fort there, they get Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay, thrasht. And oftentimes are vsed ill, and beare the blowes away: 1050 But at this fame the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye, For Papistes, whordome doe alow, and count it but a playe. For of the polshorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow siill, That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill: The lawe Scatinian is extinct, and Iulian laught at now, The Papistes, euery kinde of vice, and wickednesse alow: Papists allow every kind of And not alonely in themselues, they doe the same permit, vice. But also vnto all that lift, with Golde to purchase it. 1058 But here I faine woulde vnderstande, what straunge Apostle hee, What Apostle said they could take the hire of That gaue vnto the Christian fort, this wanton libertee? That where they freely might enjoye, and haue them openlye, whores, and yet be servants of God? 1062 And they themselues to take the hier of beastly letcherye? And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine, The perfit feruants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine? Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full, 1066 That they with emptie shadow thee not into errour pull. This was the guise of Corynth great, and Cyprus eke of olde, While darckneffe raind, and Sathan foule, his fcepture there did holde: Their excuse is, that men 'ud But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vile, otherwise rape Least that the youth should happe both maydes and matrons to defile. maidens. Who would not muse to see the witte of these same catholickes, Their sharpe inuentions, and deuise, in all their proper trickes? This thing coulde Moyfes not perceyue, that all things elfe did fee, Deut. 22. Who wilde that whoremongers should none among the people bee: 1. Cor. 5. 6. And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise, 1076 7. 10. Nor Paule it saw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skies: Heb. 13. [1f. 59] Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right, Gal. 5. To be the dwelling place of Christ, and of the holy spright: Ephe. 5. Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the same thereby to be, 1. Thes. 4. 1080 The body of a hore, this staine and blot commaunded he To be excluded farre from faintes, and fuch as christned be. Papists don't care But they have nothing for to doe, with Moyfes nor with Paule, for Moses or Nor any honest things they will obey, nor lawes at all. Paul: they pardon Themselues they pardon and forgiue, dispensing wondrouslye, themselves.

1084

As men that onely here possest the keyes of heaven hye.

I many things doe oner passe, nor have they every where, Their customes like, for enery realme hath his denised gere: Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby, There are that doe fuch doltish dreames, defende maliciously, 1088 That quight contrary are to Christ, and to religion right, Which neyther canft thou eafily knowe, nor well in verfe refight. Now when these Popish lothsome limmes, by no meanes we can see In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Christ to bee, Nor can in anye wife imbrace, the fonde religion vaine, And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine, Nor doctrine of fo wicked fayth, to Christian people giue, But rather as the Apostles teach, doe simply seeke to line, 1006 Rejecting toyes and mans deuice, as which we furely know, To be detefted of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw: We here are called Heritykes, and worthing thought to bee. Of halter, fworde, confuming fire, and ech extremitee. TIOO We punisht are, our houses sealde, or from our countrie farre We banisht be, or else opprest at home with civil warre: Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth confume, and cleane deuours, The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours. These things these Catholikes attempt, when in so many yeares, By scriptures sure they cannot plant, this foolish fayth of theirs: Nor ours with feriptures ouerthrow, that now they feeke to make The Prince of hell and Christ to joyne in one, and partes to take. For (all ashamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot stande, With this religion and this life, if once doe come in hande, The worde of God, the heauenly light, and that abrode doe shine, The twelue Apostles doctrine, and that blessed court denine. Nor good it seemeth yet to them (such is their wisdome hie,) To graunt that they have erd in any thing or gone awrie. 1114 For thame it is that learned men, and fuch as famous bee, For Mitars and for Crofiar staues, amongst the Christiantee Christ nor the Apostles fayth to know, that perfit is and iust, But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may fafely truft. From hence proceedeth all their griefe, and all their cruell hate, That with effusion of our bloud, they stablish their estate: 1120 And will not here be pacified by any other meanes, Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monstrous dreames: And altogither runne in one, like flockes for company, To false and wicked worshippings, and vile idolatry: 1124 And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all, Although they teache no doctrine of the King celestiall. Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part shoulde freely vse Their owne religion, seruing God as best they list to chuse: 1128 And neyther part the other for to trouble or molest, With warres or bookes, that Germany might liue in peace or reft.

But if we say these Papists are not members of Christ,

we're calld Heretics, and punisht or banisht,

and lose our

Tho' they see they can't stand against God's word and light,

[leaf 59, back] they won't confess they've errd,

but hate us Reformers, and pour out our blood.

It's often been agreed that Papist and Protestant should keep his own faith, but

Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553. 347

But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write, the Papists won't be true to And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite: this compact. Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endurde, But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here affurde. 1134 If tumults on our partes arise, or any great ado, Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therevnto, If we take arms to protect our-And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie, selves, the Papists say it's the Gospel's fault, declare the And take the pillage of their foes, immediately they crie: 1138 The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight Gospel's Turkish, These fellowes line, the Deuill brought this Gospell first to light: It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago: And spightfully they slaunder it, with many raylings mo: 1142 As if that any Preacher here, did euer this alow, Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow. They know full well themselves that none of ours did ever teache, To vse fuch violence, nor this vnto the people preache: and they hell-Yet with their vile infective tongues, and mouthes envenemde tho, ishly defame its With poyfon that in hellish lakes, and Stygian streames doth flo, Preachers. The Gospell of the Lorde they doe, most spightfully defame, [leaf 60] And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same. 1150 But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuise, To keepe them in, from ving force against their enimies? The Papists Why doe they not as well difwade their Catholikes, and blame Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very fame? 1154 And boldely euery where deftroy, and euery man moleft, Yea euen their very friendes at home, that faine woulde liue at rest. What kinde of Gospell teache those men, that even openly persuade men to With bitter wordes and bookes perfwade men to fuch cruelty? persecute us. The Pope Are these to any man vnknowne? doth Fraunce and Italy 1159 pardons those Not openly declare the fame, and plainely testify? who fight us. Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perfwade this martiall might, And pardons every man hys finnes that in their quarrell fight? But fure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe, And better others faultes they fee, than what themselues doe lacke: Accounting here for catholickes, themselues and all their traine, And others all as heritickes, and wicked people plaine: Wherefore the chiefest members of this holy popish state, Their cerimonies and their dayes, they yearely confecrate. Their foolish fayth and beastly life, I openly doe showe, That all the worlde may understande, and euery man may know, They don't care for Christ, but That neyther Christ nor perfit fayth, they any whit doe way, But onely feeke to looke aloft, and boldely for to fay, 1172 only to claim that they are That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes, holy, and we And we vnhappie caftawayes, and curfed heritickes. cursed heretics. But wherein are they Catholickes? bicause they follow here If they are Catholicks, so The truth? but what they follow and believe, doth plaine appere. So it is that in number they and countries vs excell, are Turks and Moors. So mayst thou both the Turkes and Mores, call Catholickes as well.

348 Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.

Let all true men see how right we've been giving up this monstrous Popish faith!

Herewith I judge that every man, that hath an vpright heart, Doth understande how just our cause hath beene for to depart From this their monstrous fayth, and from their lewde ydolatree, And for to shonne these popula members all of ech degree: As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde, Nor fuffer fuch as woulde, but keepe them still in darcknesse blinde.

FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

Compare part of The thirde Booke, Superstitions about Storms. leaf 41, bk, 42:--

Belles

are rung against

Ratio, divino.

storms and

thunder.

A Bell [leaf 42] nam'd Mary, that said it put thunder and spirits to flight.

Candles are also lighted, and Holy Palms us'd, against storms.

Other folk sit out in the open

Others hide in caves.

Where then is their trust in Christ?

Are these 'Catholics,' that defend themselves by Bells and such humbug ?

The Heathens did the same.

If that the thunder chaunce to rore, and stormie tempest shake, A woonder is it for to fee the wretches howe they quake,

Howe that no fayth at all they have, nor trust in any thing. The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, With wondrous found, and deeper farre, than he was woont before, Till in the loftie heavens darke, the thunder bray no more. For in these Cristned belles they thinke, doth lie such powre & might, As able is the tempest great, and storme, to vanquish quight. I fawe my felfe at Numburg once, a towne in Toring coast, A Bell that with this title bolde, hir felfe did prowdly boaft, "By name I Mary called am; with found I put to flight II

The thunder crackes, and hurtfull flormes, and every wicked fpright." Such things when as these Belles can do, no wonder certainlie It is, if that the Papistes to their tolling alwayes flie, When haile, or any raging storme, or tempest comes in fight, 15 Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that every place doth fmight:

Besides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all, And Willow braunches hallow, that they Palmes do vse to call. This done, they verily believe, the tempest nor the storme, Can neyther hurt themselves, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne. But some there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit Their lines to this, but vnderneath the starres they seeke to sit;

10

For there (they fay) the lightning can no kinde of creature fmight, Nor fall vpon the feeble corfe of any fearefull wight. There are, that hide themselues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie, When as they heare the roring found, and rumbling in the skie.

Where here appeares the confidence, and trust vnto the hiest? And hope in all aduerfitie cast wholy vpon Christ? 28 Where doe they here commit themselves, and all that they possesse, Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do expresse? Are not these Papistes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well, That are defended in the stormes, by founde of brasen Bell?

And steps of stayres, and braunches burnt, with stames encompast round, And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground? Such Gods, and fuch defenders here, the heathen woont to haue, 36

To whom, in all their daunger they did flie, themselues to saue.

INDEX (NOT EXHAUSTIVE).

40/21 means page 40, line 21.

Abortiues, sb. pl. 188, abortions. 'Abortiue or borne before tyme. Abortiuus, a, um.' 1552. Ric. Huloet. Abcedarium Anglico-Lat. Abroche, 150, adj. on tap. To set "Brochyn or abroche, to tap. settyn a vesselle abroche. Attamino, dipsidro." Prompt. Parv. Abrupte, 22/27, corrupt, E. F. Abuses, S. Rowlands's list of, 232 Abuses in Ailgna (England †), how they may be reformd, 186 Accidents, 105, sb. pl. component elements Accidents at football, &c., 318, 319 Actors and theatres, 140, 144, 301 Acts against certain games, 316, 317; idleness and vagrancy, 186, 320; cottage-building, 281; drunkenness, 285; bearbaiting and games on Sundays, 298; church-ales, 306

Acuate, 128, vb. sharpen, inflame, make more desirous; 'whette,' in F. 1595
Adam's fall, how caused, 36

Adieu, bid, 167 Adjuments, 138, supports (F.), aids Aduertiseth, 26, pr. s. warns Adultery in England, 88, 98, 101,

280-4

Agnes, St., customs on her day, Jan. 21, 327 Ailgna, Anglia, England, description of, 23 Alatrate, 158, vb. bark, say. Lat. latrare. Ale sold in churches, 307

Alehouses frequented on the Sabbath, 136, 296

Alehouses, 232, 237, 300, 307. 'Ale house or tauerne, where riote is exercised, and mayntened. *Popina*.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

Ales, feasts, 150, 306-9 All Soul's Day, customs on, 342 Almond for a Parrat, by T. Nashe, quoted, on Stubbes, 37*-39* Alowed of, 163, approvd of, authorizd

Amarulent, 156, bitter, 63*
Ambagies, 49/21, circumlocutions
Amber as a scent, 269, 270
Ambagerters, 141, 96, 67

Ambodexters, 141, sb. pl. "Those jurors that take of both parties for the giving of their verdict." Cowell. Double-dealing

Amongest, 22, prep. among. 'And note that this phrase "amonge," maye be referred to fewe, or one, &c. And also that "amongest"

† A Looking Glasse for Englande. Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth. . London, 1500, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an "old tract in S. Cypr. de 12 abusionibus seculi" (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho it was the "dailie and hourlie looking glasse" of "noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedforde," and its englisher "long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke." sign. (iji.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A young man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and an vniust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law The treatment of all is quite general.

may be referred to the more or greater parte.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium. (So of 'toward' and 'towardes,' &c.)

Amulets and annulets, 255

Amusements, Stubbes's abuse of, discusst, 46*-49*. Bp. Babington on those allowable, 88*

Anatomie of Absurditie, by T. Nashe, 232, 320; its abuse of Stubbes, 39*-41*

Ancientie, x/15, antiquity

Andrew, St., customs on his day, 341
Androgini, 254. 'Men hauynge
membres of both kindes, beyng
both man and woman. Androginos. Of thys kynde is in Asia.'
1522. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Angels food or dragons milk, 307, good ale

Ant and Grasshopper, fable of, 86* Antidotarie, 96, marg. antidote Antiques, 147/16, fooleries, actor's 'properties'

Antwerp, judgment of God on a ruff-wearing woman of, 71, 72,

Apale, 62, vb. appall, frighten

Apes: as drunk as Apes, 151/3; men are God's, and Women are men's, 77*, note

— and Bears, led about the country, 87*

Apishness, 77*

Apparel, 75*: see Dress.

Apple-squires, boys who wait on harlots: see Index note to Harlots

Aprons, women's, 264

Arase, 35, sb. Arras hangings Arch-doctor of all truth, Christ, 120/1

Argente, 52, l. 2 from foot, money. Fr. Argent

Argented, 62/7, silverd

Armed Man, the, 91*n., Death ARMIN, Robert, defended by G. Harvey, 42*

Artificers' and Occupiers' tricks to raise prices, 118

Artificers and Tailors warnd not to indulge folk in new fashions, 81 Artificers' wives wear Velvet Hats, ARUNDELL, Phillip, Earl of, Dedication of the "Anatomy" to, iii As, conj. that, 116/19

Ascension Day, Popish customs on,

Ashwe'n'sday, popular customs and sports on, 331

Ass, wooden, taken in procession on Palm Sunday, 332-3

Assayes, at all, xvii/5, certainly, at all events

Assoted, 39/13, 148, adj. mad, foolish. "Assoté. Sotted, besotted." Cotgrave

Assotteth, 110/12, besotteth, makes foolish

Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Customs on the Feast of, 340

Assy, 51/3, adj. asinine, foolish, ridiculous. 'Asseheade wythout anye learnyng or wytte. Vappa.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium. Auster, 83, adj. austere, sedate

Austerly, 81, adv. austerely AVERELL, W., on Men's Dress, 239; on Women's, 253

Babelries, 81/21, 185, sb. pl. baubles, childish toys, babyish fancies

Babblerie, 148, sb. nonsense
BABINGTON, Bp. extracts from, on
Dress, 75*; Sabbath-breaking,
78*; Stage Plays and Dancing,
83*; lawful Amusements, 88*;
Dicing, 89*; Unfit Parsons, 92*;
Tittle-Tattle, 93*; see list, 75*
Babish, 87*, 161, adj. childish,

foolish Babishnes, 78/27, sb. playfulness,

affected youthfulness
Bables, 61, sb. pl. baubles, gewgaws

Badged, 271, adj. with a badge painted on it

Badges, the Lord of Misrule's, 148 Baggage, 58/19, filthy matter; 103, rubbish, stuff. 'Baggage, lumbor, or trumperye, solde for necessitye. Scruta.' 1552. R. Huloet.

Bagpipe, dancing to the, 340
Balaam and his ass, 121

Balaunced, 119, stufft, weighted; 171, laden, F.

Ball, games at, 344 Ballads and sonnets, bawdy, 171, 185, sung at brides' bed-room doors, 309; list of, 314, 320 Ballads, filthy, and scurvy rymes, 171 Bandless hats, 51, 243. 'Bande or lace of a cappe or hatte. Spira.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium. Bandogs, 178, sb. pl. Mastiffs; also called Tie-dogs, from being tied or bound on account of their fierceness. See Harrison, Descript. of England, II. 44-5 Bands, peasants' stately, 52, 53 Bankside, Southwark, a place for brothels, 281; and Bearbaiting, 79* n. Bawdye house, or house of bawdrye wythout the walles of a towne. Summænium, 1552.

R. Huloet. Abcedarium. Banning, 107; Bannyng, 112, v. 199, sb. swearing, cursing Bar, pitching the; a game, 316: see Games below

Bare breasts, women's, 78, 255, 267 1, 94* Barley-break, a game, 316‡

Barns, Puritans meet in, 41* Base, a game, 316

Basilicock, 109/27, sb. basilisk. 'Basiliske, a beaste full of poyson, whiche some men do thyncke to be a cokeatrice.' Catoblepas. 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Bastards: the getting 2 or 3, a needful sign of being a man, 96. 'Bastard begotten betwene base and gentle, or betwene conjugate and single. Spurius.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Bastardy, causes of in England, 96 Bawdy songs, 171, 185, 314, 319

Bear-baiting, on Sundays, 137, 177, 296-7; this 'sweet and comfortable recreation' for the rabble, justified, 79*

Beareward, 178, sb. Bear-keeper Bear-Garden, accident at the, 179,

Bear in hand, 49/20, entertain with hopes; 118/1, persuade Beating of children on Childermas

Day, Dec. 28, 325
Become, 35/13, adorn
Bee: "As quick as a bee," 96 Beef and Mutton, prices of, 287

Beggars and Scotchmen eating white bread, 234

Beggars, great number of, in England, 97

Beggars now called "Master," 123,

Beggerye baggage, (roots, &c., not meat) Englishmen can't eat, 288 Behold the Devil, 307, get drunk:

see Drunkards below Bellicheer, 102/13; 104/15, gluttony

Bells rung against storms, 348 Bessies, 147, girls, sweethcarts Betorn, 151, torn to pieces Bibles in churches, all ragged and

rent, 151 Big-bellied Doublets, 55

Birds and beasts: men dress up as.

at Shrovetide, 329 Bishop's oil and glasses blest on Maundy Thursday, 334

BISMARCK and the English Sunday, 297-8 §

K. Henry VI. was "So continent, as suspition of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breastes laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, 'fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.' 1605. Jn. Stow, Annales, p. 705. See too 'A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter,

Huloet has a good compound of Barley: 'Barley bunne gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meaned by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlye. Hordiarius, ij.

§ Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—"I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diverBlase, St., the Holy-Water man: 1 customs on his day, 328-9 Blaunch, 180, vb., whitewash, represent bad as good Bleake, a, light, faint (colour), Bleeding, hair-cutting, &c., only done at certain times of the moon, 323 Blindman-buffe, the game, 316 Blockheads: why Englishmen are calld, 77*, n. Blockhowses, 176, forts, strong-Blockish ydols, 154; as blockish as beasts, 151 Bloodiest oath-maker, counted the bravest fellow, 132 Bloody swearers, 133/6; 134 Boalling, 286, swilling, drinking Bocardo, 126, sb. debtors' prison. Properly "the old North gate at Oxford, taken down in the last century. It was formerly used as a prison for the lower sort of criminals, drunkards, bad women, and poor debtors." Halliwell Bolstred heir, 67, pp. propt-up hair; bolstered breasts, 256 Bombasted, 55, adj. stufft, padded with bombast, or cotton Books, infidel and wanton, in Ailgna, 185 BOORDE, Andrew, his cut of an Englishman, 249, 77*, &c. Boothby, Lincolnshire, 58* Boothose, 61, 251
Boots of Spanish leather, 242; with fringd tops, 248 Bottell-arste bummes, 264, sticking out like a truss of hay Bowable, 76/14, adj. easily bent BOWCER, Cswald, of Donnington:

Bowers and arbours in Churchyards for games, 147 Bowling, 173, 174; bolling, 372; playing at bowls Branded with a hot iron, Swearers should be, 134 Brase, 75, sb. brace, couple Braue, 41, adj. fine, showy Breeches like Brewers' Hopsacks, 241, 246 Brewer's washing beetle, be beaten with, 307, get drunk Bribery, Bp. Babington against, 92* Bridals, mad dancing and customs at, 309 Bride, hardships of her first night, Bridewell prison, 100, 233 Brocheth, 77, pr. s. introduces, brings forward Brothels and harlots, 280 Brothelry, 94/9, lechery BRUISTAR, W., his death, 282 Brush on the Beard, a Fop's, 78*, Brust, 85, pt. s. 188, burst. A.S. berstan, brestan Brustyng, 112, pr. p. bursting Buffin gown, 264, ?coarse stuff: see Nares Bugges and sprites, Crosses good against, 326/154 Bugled cloaks, 61 Bugles, 61, 67, sh. pl. beads, ornaments of glass, &c.
Bumbd like a Barrell, men, 239, women, 264, 271. See note on Codpieces below Bunches, 243 n., bumps, swellings

out like a truss of hay be wable, 76/14, adj. easily bent DWCER, Cswald, of Donnington: the judgment on his wife Joan, 58*

BURBAGE, James, his Theatre in Shoreditch, 143, 299, 300
Busks, women's, in stays, 262, 259, 272
Bussing, 147, vb. kissing bush of the concluded with a startling story of Stay and stay and he concluded with a startling story of Stay and stay and he concluded with a startling story of Stay and stay and

sions and looking at Illustrateds or Punches, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked:—"St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each ore do? One said, 'I should begin to pray,' another 'I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter: 'I should go on,' he said, 'with my game of chess; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'"—Echo. Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. 1.

Butter-flies (and writs), 126, sb. pl. apparently writs, executions Buttocks: lye there (in prison) till his heels rot from his but-

tocks, 127

Buttons, great and small, 239 Buxome, 75/27, adj. yielding (met). A.S. buhsom from bugan, to bow Buzzing dronets and idle lubbers, Players are, 145

Cabbage shoestrings, 240

Cable hatband, 242

Caduke, 103/27, adj. crazy, frail. Lat. caducus, from cadere, to fall Cake, a big one made on Twelfth-Day (Jan. 6), 326

CAMDEN'S account of John Stubbes' having his hand chopt off, 54* Candlemas Day, Feb. 2, customs

on, 328

Canions, 56/15, 231, 246, rolls at the bottoms of breeches just below the knee; see Strutt, II.

Caps, women's, 69/3; 258; 282 n. Carding, 174, playing at cards

Cards, dice, tables, bowls, 131, not to be playd by any Christian, 173

Care or Carle Sunday, customs on,

Carefull, carfull, 120, adj. anxious, full of care

CARTWRIGHT, Thomas, the Puritan, praisd by G. Harvey, 43*; marrid John Stubbe's sister, 54*

Carzies, 32/11, sb. pl. kersies. Harrison, Descript. of Engl., ed. Furnivall, I. 172, tells us that an Englishman "was knowne abroad by his owne cloth," and at home wore "his fine carsie hosen and a mean slop"

Casting-bottle, 271, for sprinkling perfumes: see Nares Cato's opinion on Usury, 125

Caueate, 113, sb. caution

Cawles, 69/18; 258, sh. pl. silk nets for the hair. "A kelle, reticu-lum." Cath. Anglicum, "Kelle, reticulum, retiaculum." Prompt. Parv., on which see Mr. Way's note

Cemeteries or Churchyards, 147, margin

Chafe, 72, sb. rage, heat Chamber-pots, gold, 235 Chamlet, 32, 56, sb. camelot Character, 76, sb. mark, sign

Charges, 21, sb. pl. expense. All's Well, &c., II. iii. 131 Charity cold in England, 59, 104,

105, 249, 288

Charms, absurd Papist ones, 343; Bp. Babington against, 78*

CHAUCER, on the poor, 44*; Dicing, 90*; Dances, 47*; Sin, 233; Pride and Nature, 234; Gentility, 237; Dress, 238 Cheape, 16, 45/6, prices, cost. A.S.

Ceáp

Cheapside; Stubbes lodgd near, Nov. 8, 1593, 68*

CHESTER, Col., notes on Stubbes's marriage and his wife's mother, 51*-53*

Childbirth, superstitious customs after, 343

Childermas (December 28), customs on, 325

Children tightly swathd and hurt, 263; neglect their duties to Parents, 82*: see Parents

Chitterlynges, 69, sb. pl. some kind of ornamental fringe, so called from its resembling the small entrails, which is the literal meaning of the word

Chopines, 265, high court shoes Christmas, great wickedness practised in keeping, 174; eve, and day, customs on (Kirchmaier), 324 Church, Lords of Misrule at, 147

noisy bridals at, 308-9 anniversary of its dedica-

tion, 137, 340 Church-ales, 137, sb. pl. Feasts in commemoration of the dedication

of a church; 340 Church-ales or Whitsun-ales, 150, 306-9

Churches, bad state of the, 151 Church-stock, 150, the money for the repair of the church, &c., in the Churchwardens' hands

CHURCHYARD the poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

Churchyards, games and dancing in, 147, 305 Cingling, sb. 77*, note, pulling in at the waist Cipher, 26, v. describe Circumgyring, 67, pr. p. encircling Ciuilest, 38, adj. most civilised CLARKE, Stubbes's friend; T. Nashe's tale about, 37* Clipping (and culling at plays), 144, sb. embracing Cloaks, fashions in, 60, 61, 242 Clocks, 57, sb. pl. ornamental work worn on various parts of dress, especially on each side of a stocking Clogged, 61, 101, pp. heavily embroiderd or coverd Clothes, the value of good ones (cp. Cloten in Cymbeline), 39/7, 237, 75* Clowts, 97, sb. pl. clothes; 219, Cloyshe, Coyles, Coytynge; games, 316 (see Brand's Pop. Antiq.) Coach, lady's; 271, 283 Coast, 87, sb. country Coats and jerkins, 58, 248 Cockering, 76, sb. indulgence. Tusser speaks of "cockering mams and shifting dads" Cock-fighting in England, on Sundays, 137, 180, 79* Codpiece, 55, 237, 243, an artificial protuberance on the breeches, well explaind by its name. † See Cotgrave, s. v. esguillette Cogge, 'cogge, lye, and falsifye,'
145, vb. cheat, load a die.
"Casser. To cogge a dye." To cogge a dye." Cotgrave Collars, standing, 240, 241, 243 COLLIER, Mr. J. P., 55*, 60*, account of Stubbes's Motive to Good Works, 67*, opinions of his about Stubbes disputed, 61*, 70* Combinate, 44, pp. combined. See

Ingenerate

Comedies: their ground bawdy, their agents whores, 143 Comfortative, 78/11, comforting Commodytie, 58, sb. advantage Commons, enclosure of by the rich, 116, 45 Commorante, 22; 46/23, dwelling, residing. Lat., commorantem Complection, 103, sb. constitution, temperament Complices, ix; 84/28, sb. pl. accomplices, associates Computist, v/15, sb. reckoner, calculator Concions, 163, sb. pl. addresses, sermons Concoct, 103, vb. digest Conculcate, 183, trodden under foot Concupiscencious, baudie, beastiall love: dancing induces, Conducible, 62/18, conducive Confortative, 78, adj. comforting, strengthening Confuteed, 57, pp. reprovd Congratulate . . with, 153 Contentation, 72/14; 87/13, contentment, delight, satisfaction Contrarely, 41; Contrarylye, 44, adv.: e contrario, in the contrary Contrarie, 199, vb. thwart, oppose Convented, 101, pp. summoned; 126, brought to court Convitious talking, 180 Co-operative Stores, the need of them, 45*, 46* Coquetry and dress of women, 64, 67, 68, 76, 256 Corked shoes, 58, 77, 265 Corn-growing, blest by the priest on Corpus Christi Day, 338/239 Corpus Christi Day: popular and Popish Customs on, 337-8 Corroborate, 107/25, strengthen Corroboratiue, 78/11, adj. strengthening

Corrosive, sb. 156/156

[†] They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpesses on the brest full of lags & cuts, and sleeues of sundrie colours? their galligascons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

CORYAT, Tom, referred to, 44*, 234 Cost of dress, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264 Costly, xii, adv. in a costly manner Cotes, 45, sb. pl. coats; 'swyne coates,' 151, pigsties Cottage-building forbidden by law, 97, 281 Cottagers' daughters in taffatie hats, 69 Couched, 65, pp. mixed, laid Counterpease, 70/22, counterpoise, weight equal to Courtes and leets held on Sundays, 137, 183 Courtier, young, Beggar old, 245, n. Coventry, Hock-Tuesday Play, led by Captain Cox, 69* Covetous men buying up poor men's land, 119, 290, 291 Covetousness in England, 114, 119, 92* Cowlstaffe, 148, sb., a staff used for carrying a tub or basket that has two ears. "Ride the cowlstaff," to ride the stang, ride a rail † Cowtails, sleeves hanging like, 74

Craking, sb., boasting, 42* Crasie, 51, adj. crazy, fragile

Creatures, God's, not to be abusd,

Creditors, cruel to debtors, 127, 293,

Crewell, 57, sb. fine worsted wool

Crosses of blood as charms, 343

Cross and Pile, a game, 316

Cuckoldry in England, 45*

Dyce's Skelton, i. 418) Culling, 144, sb. embraces

Cupple, 100, sb. pair, couple

by bear-baiting, 178; hunting, 182

one, 166, l. 3 from foot Dancing, 154-169, 313; the evils of, 155; (in churchyards), 305; (at bridals), 309, 313, 314; 83*, 85* Dancing and games on the Sab-bath, 136, 137, 296, 297, 79*, *18 Dancing, 146, like the French can-can, 330. Daunsyng with a wanton tricke vsed among. Staticulum.' 1552. Huloet Dandy: one describd, 241, 77*: see Dress DANIEL, Samuel, poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 43* Danish sleeve and codpiece, 243; rousa, 286 DANTER, the printer, 42* Dasht, 88, pp. spoilt Dastard, Cowarde, Asse, Pesant, Clowne, Patche, 132

Curious, 71, adj. dainty, nice Curiousness, 103, sb. daintiness,

Curry-knave, Cutbert, ? Thomas

Cypher foorth, 138/16, sketch, out-

Cyprian, St., on face-painting, 66

Cyuilian, 23/2, a man of culture

Daintiness in food hurtful, 106

Damnable, 132, to be condemnd,

Dance, the Devil's danst by every

Nashe, on Stubbes, 37*, 39* Curtain Theatre, The, 143, 279, 299,

squeamishness

Cyuet, 77, sb. civet

Dag, 66*, a pistol

wrong ‡

Daggers, 62, 250, 252

Cutte, 49, pp. cut, slasht

301, 308

+ Woman. "In some places with vs, if a woman beat hir husbande, the man that dwelleth next vnto hir, shal ride on a cowlstaffe: & there is al y punishment she is like to haue." 1580, T. Lupton. Sivqila, p. 50.

is the to hade. 1500, 1. Lupton. Stoying, p. 50.

† "If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and damne his deede."—Tyndale (1573), f. 144.

"O 3ce witles men of galathic who deceyuede 3ou for to not bileue to the treuhe bifore whos yaen iesu crist is dampnyde (or exilde)."—Epistle to the Galatians, cap. iii, 6, Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test. (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruny men for so thise damned

persons called) do no common worke, but as enery prinate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man."—Sir T. More's Utopia, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso.--R. Roberts.

Daughters let as hackneys for hire, 278

Daunger, 153, sb. power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. domigerium. So "out of debt, out of danger," i. e. independent of all, out of everyone's power. See Wedgwood, s. v.

David's dancing, 164

Day of the Lord. of Judgment, near, 187

Dealers, cheating, 46*

Dearlynges, 88, sb. pl. paramours, favourites. 'Darlynge, a wanton terme vsed in veneriall speach, as be these: honycombe, pyg-gisnye, swetchert, trueloue. Adonis . . delitiæ . . suaium sauium? 1552. Huloet

Dearth and scarcity in 1583, 118. 'Dearth or scarsitye. Caritas.'

1552. Huloet

- dearness, 289

Death of the Poor in the Streets, 59: see Poor

Debt, imprisonment for, 126, 127, 292, 293*

Debtors, cruel treatment of, 127,

DECKER, T., on men's absurd Dress, 77*; on letting men die in the fields, 91*; on Creditors' cruelty, see note to Dice below.

Decline, 55, v. bend, bow Decore, vb. 35, footnote 6, ornament; 'decored,' 64/3, ornamented, improvd

Decorum, still regarded as a Latin word, 30/20

Dehorted, 142, pt. s. dissuaded Delicates, 87, delicacies, sb. pl. dainties

DELONEY, Thomas, defended by G. Harvey, 42*

Deneger, 115, sb. denyer

Denigrate, 78/20, v. blacken, darken Depainted, ix/6, depicted; Cp. Thynne's Emblemes, E. E. T. S., 10 (7) 24

Deuerginat, 145, vb. seduce

Devil, the maker of new fashions, 77/11: his band in the temple of God, 147

Devil, behold the: get drunk, 307: see Drunkards, below

'Dice of his bones, I will make,' 119,

127, 290, 293, 46*, † 89* Dice, Wine, and Women, make men beggars, 89*

Dicing and gambling, bad, 174, 317, 89*-91*

Diogenes, opinion of, on dress, 46 Disalowe, 153, 1 pr. s. disapprove Discrasies, 103/21, sb. pl. ailments, disorders, discomforts. 'Discraysed. Egrotus.' 1552. Hu-

loet Disgesture, 103/15; 106/15, sb.

digestion Dishcloute, 51, sb.-rag, dishcloth Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

† "You have another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sicknes and death deal mildely with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile them out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch, that, to keep life in a loathed body, hath not a house left to couer his head from the Against cruell tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his cares to sleepe vppon, when you haue (by keeping or locking him vp) robd him of all meanes to get; what seeke you to haue him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot mooue you; the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with dispaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moste of all miserable, his Children, lye crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion: if his debts be heaule, the greater and more glorious is your pitty to worke his freedome; if they be light, the sharper is the *Vengeance* that will be heaped vpon your heades for your hardenes of heart. Wee are moste like to God that made vs, when wee shew loue one to another, and doe moste like the Diueil that would destroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes make Dice of mens bones, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too: and that euerie miserable debter that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in Ieronimo) crying Reuenge." 1606. T. Decker. Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

ruins the character of. 'Dishonesten or make dishoneste. Collutilo, as. Contamino, as . . Dishonest or defyle a woman. depudico.' 1552. Huloet Disparcle, 78/17, v. spread, scatter abroad District, 46/9, strict Diue, 52, v. steep Document, 100/13, lesson, Hamlet, IV. v. cp. Doen, 66, pp. done Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268 Donnington, Leicestershire, 59* Doomsday, near, 187 Doublets made of a monstrous size, 55; of laced satin, 246, 247; worn by women, 71, 261, 77*, note Dregs, 63, sb. pl. rubbish Dress, curses on, 73; cost of, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264; deforms rather than improves men, 30; of foreign nations, 31, 234, 239; to be suited to a man's station in life, 33; its origin, 36; the right use of, 37, 237; the love of it, the mother of pride, 44; extravagance in, in Chaucer's time, 238; opinions of the Ancients on, 46, 47; of Christ and the prophets, 48 Dress of men, 239, 75*, 77*, 78* Dress of women, abuses in, 63, 254-257*, 77*, note Drink, names for, 150, 307 Drinking half-pots or whole cans

1552. Huloet
Drummer, 172
Drunk, names for getting, 307
Drunkards worse than beasts, 108:
"Accoustré pour aller au guet.
Thoroughly tipled, soundly whittled, that hath seene the diuell."
1611. Cotgrave. See Gascoigne's 'Delicate Diet for Droonkardes,' 1576

of beer, game at, 316

seruice.

Dromming, xi, sb. playing on drums

or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house whych doth all the vyle

Mediastimus, a, um.'

Dronets, xi/8, 145; sb. pl. drones Droye, 78/2, sb. droil, drudge, slavey, common girl. 'Drudge Drunken alestake, 78*, drunkard Drunkenness and gluttony, at Wake-days, yearly Church festivals, 153, 284; Act against, 285 Drunkenness in England, 107; testimonies against, 109; a caueat against, 112 Duetie, 112, sb. duty Dumb creatures, Stubbes's care for, 50*, 178, 182 Dunghill gentleman, 122. 'Dungehyll, mixen, or muckhyll. Priuetum.' 1552. Huloet Durance petticotes, 264, lasting, strong; see Nares Dutch drunkards, awful example of two, 113 Dutch fashions in dress, 60, 251

Dyeing of hair, 68, 258 Ear-rings, 70 Easter-Day, popular customs on, Easter-eve, popular customs on, 335-6 EBSWORTH, Rev. J. W., on Balladcuts, 17*; on women's bare necks, 267 n.; on S. Rowlands's list of naughty songs, 314 Education and treatment of children, 278 Effeminacy of men, 54, 103, 246 Effeminate, vb. 160, make woman ish and weak Efficiente, 27, pr. p. effecting EGERTON'S Sermons, mentiond by T. Nashe, 37* Egham races, 47* Elements and Skyes, 188 Elizabeth, Queen, her procession and dress, June 23, 1600, 71* Els what, 76; what not ELYOT, Sir T., against Dicing, 90* EMMES, William, Stubbes's fatherin-law, 51* to 53* England describd, 23, 114; pride and luxury in, 31, 235, 236 English valuables exchanged for

foreign trifles, 33, 235 Englishmen have become effemin-

103, 246, 250; cut of one, 249

Enlocnilshire, 135, Lincolnshire

ate from dress and luxury, 54,

Enterludes, viii, sb. pl., interludes Entierly, 117,adv earnestly, heartily. See Intirelie

Equivalent, 144, of equal weight Erichsseheshire, 135, Cheshire Errata in the early editions, 192 Eschue from, 147, l. 7 from foot Estraunged, 96, pp. separated, removed

Estridge feathers, 253, 270-1 Euangely, sb. 120, gospel Eunuch; Stubbes likend to one

by Nashe, 39*
Evibrate, vb. 108, footnote 7, shake
Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, vb. heap
up, gather. 'Heapely, in a
mungley, wythout order. Aceruatim, Aggestim.' 1552. Huloet

Examples against drunkenness, 109-112

Exorable, 75/29, adj. gaind over by entreaties, ready to yield to solicitation

Extenuate, 54/25, v. lengthen out Extrauagantes, 172, wanderers, vagrants, stragglers

Extravagance in dress, &c., its results, 53, 245
Eye: 'Black is their eye,' 96

Face-painting, 63-67, 254, 255-6, 257, 270, 271; abhorrd of God, 64; used by harlots,† 65; the devil's net, 66, 67

Faggots: husbands' natures guesst

by, 324
Fairs and markets on Sundays,
299: see p. 149

---, evils attending now, 47*
Fall, and falling band, 244, 256, 259, 279

False breasts, &c., 257; hair, 257-8 Familiars, 87, sb. intimate friends Fangles, new, 80/20; 82/25, fanci-

ful inventions

Fans, and flaps of feathers, 261

Faraginie, 103, margin, Lenten diet Far-fetcht and dear-bought, is good for ladies,‡ 33/16, 65/16, 236, 254...

Farmers' silken geere, 244 Farthingales and dress, 261, 272 Fashions, 243, 256, sb. a disease in

a horse, farcy

Fashions in bands, 52, 243; in coats and jerkins, 58, 248, 250; in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241; in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270; in hats, 50, 240, 241; in hose, 56, 246; in netherstocks (stockings), 57; in rapiers, swords, and daggers, 62, 252; in ruffs, 51, 52, 240, 242; in shirts, 53, 245; in shoes, 58, 248; of women, 71, 259; change every day, 76

Fashions of dress frequently changed in Ailgna, 31, 76

Fauchone, 110/19; 162, sb. a sword or falchion

Feade, 62, vb. please, feed Feare, 98, v. frighten

Feathers and hats, 50, 241, 243 Feight dog, feight bear! the deuill part all! 178 (at Bearbaiting)

Felles, 36/21; sb. pl. skins
Fellowship of Animals' Friends,
50*, note¹i, 331. 'Felowshyppe,
brethren or companye, whych be
all of one brotherhode, corporation, fraterternitie, guilde, or
misterye. sodales?' 1552. Huloet.
Felowes, 48, sb. pl. companions;

A.S. félagi Femenine, 161, 170, vb. effeminate, or, as just below, womannisheth

Filides, 256, foot (?)
Fine living hurtful, 105

Fish: all is fish that comes to the net, 117/23; offerd to St. Huldryche or Ulric, 339

Fixnet, 35/5; sb. shower-off, upstart; 'Thraso' in later editions

+ Huloet says under 'Alume . whereof bene three kyndes . . The iii. Zucharinum made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe, the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do communely vse to paynte their faces and visages wyth, to deceaue menne; but God graunte they deceaue not them selues.'

visages wyth, to deceaue menne; but God graunte they deceaue not them selues.'

1. Next the entry of Udal's Rauf Ruyster Duster (Ralf Roister Doister) in the Stationers' Register for 22 July 1566-7, is "Recevyd of thomas hackett for his lycense for the pryntinge of a playe intituled farre fetched and Deare bowght ys good for lad[1]es." Arber's Transcript, i. 331.

Flaunes, 148, sb. pl. custards, pan-Flaunt, 34, vb. to make a show Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing,† Fleer, 145, vb. grin, make faces Flip flap, 51, phr. flapping Flipping and flapping, 58/17; flopping, floundering FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd) praisd by G. Harvey, 42*
Flower in a fop's ear, 78* note, 94* Flowting, ix, adj. mocking. "Brocarder, to quip, cut, gird, reach ouer the thummes; least at; flout, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. As You Like It, I. ii. 42 Fluter, 172 Foist, 71, footnote 8; '1. barge or pinnace, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. crepitus. Foist, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss. Fond, 81, adj. foolish Food of Englishmen in the olden times, 103, 287 Football, playd on Sundays, 137; the dangers of, 184; accidents at, 318, 319 Football and other games, S. Rowlands's list of in 1600, 316 Foot saunte without cards, 304; toying with girls' feet? Fop: one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77* note,

97, impers. pr. matters, is of importance. The expression, "it is no fors" = it is of no importance, is common in Early English. 'Force or care little or nothinge. . Susque . . ferre . . Vacat.' 1552. Huloet. Foreign fashions in dress, 31, 60, 234, 239, 240, 250, 251 Foreign goods preferred to homemade, 33 Forked cappes of Popish Priestes, 69 Fornication, prevalence of in England, 101, 282 FORREST, Sir (= parson) W., on the food of Englishmen in 1543, 287 Fox's Book of Martyrs, 185; Stubbes wrote 8 prefatory Latin lines to it, 64* Frankincense, burning, carrid about houses on Twelfth Night, 326 FRAUNCE, Abraham, the poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 42* French fashions in dress, 60, 251, 77* note Frizes, 32, sb. pl. friezes Frontiers, 67, sb. foreheads Funeral rites held only for shavelings' gain, 342

moved
Fyled, 23, pp. filed down, polished, refined. Harrison, Descript. of Britain, 1587, p. 26, has—"great shew of learning and boast of filed utterance;" and Ben Jonson, "Shakspere's well-torned and true-filed lines"

Furdest, 56, adj. furthest, most re-

† Fleas.—Matthew Grove (Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 344) gives the following humourous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoyned sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes, 1587:" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House Hazlitt's Handbook).

"A perfect tricke to kill little blacke flees in ones chamber."

"Take halfe a quart of barly graine,
A quart of strongest beere,
And boyle withall in earthen pot
A pint of water cleere,
Till all these three consumed be
To ounces twelve or lesse,
And then the place to which you will
These fleas in heaps to presse,

94*: see *Dress*, Fashions Forceth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.;

Anoynt with that; this water hath, In it this verture raw, That all the fleas will thither come. Then take a slender strawe, And tickle them on the small ribs, And when you see one gape, Thrust then the straw into his mouth, And death he ne shall scape."

The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be opend till wanted for use.' When opend, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

Gallant's dress, cost of, 245 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the: Ruffs so called, 53

Gally-hose, or gally-gascoynes, 56/1; 246, sb. wide, loose hose; bombasted, like women's bustles: see the Index note on Codpiece.

Gambling and dicing, 174-6; the outcome of, 175, 317; 89*-91*

Games and sports, 316† Garagantua breeches, 247

Garded, 60, pp. trimd, edgd. See Henry VIII., Prologue 16, and Merchant of Venice, II. ii. 143

Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279 Gardes, 74, sb. pl. trimmings, edgingsI

Garnishe, 33, v. adorn: 'Garnish.

Adorns.' 1552. Huloet

Garters, French, 243; of Granada silk, 244, 265; given by harlots to amorous fools, 280; poniards hung in, 280

GASCOIGNE the poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*

Gascoynes, 242, breeches: "Guerguesses: f. Wide Slops, or Gallogaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611." Cotgrave

Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, pp. galled Geare, 97, sb. matter, business Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's

Day, 340

Generoseous, a. 132

Gentilism, 142, faith and deeds of Gentiles

Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart: 'Gentleman of the first head, or Ironice to be applyed to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no poynt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. Filius terræ.' 1552. Rich. Huloet. Abcedarium

Gentlemen sheepmongers and graziers, 290

Germans not given to change their customs or dress, 31

Geugawes, 62, sb. pl. baubels, trinkets

Giese, 111, pr. noun, Gehazi Gingered brests & spiced stomacks, 106, last line

Gingerlynes, 78/26, sb. affected nicety, dainty manners

Girls and men at theatres, 304 Girls dress like men at Shrovetide, 329/304; are harnesst in ploughs on Ashwensday, 332/392; seduced at thirteen, 232

Girls' way of finding out husbands' names, 324

Glistering, 79, pr. p. shining, glittering

Globe Theatre (Shakspere a sharer), Southwark, 252, 303

Glory of, 155/2, glory in

Gloves, scented, worn by women, 79 Gluttony, a temptation of the devil,

Gluttony and drunkenness in England, 102; forbidden by God, 110; God's judgments on, 113;

Gluttony and drunkenness, 284 God's ape, man is, 77*, note

God's punishment of pride, 85, 86 GODDARD, Wm., on women's fashions, 259

GOLDING, Arthur, on Sabbath breaking, 80*, 81*, note

Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, 275 (see *Harrison*, Part II. Forewords)

Good Friday, customs on, 334-5 'Good Men': brawlers and fighters wrongly calld, 88*, note

GOOGE, Barnabe, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*; his englishing of Book IV of The Popish Kingdome of T. Kirchmaier or Naogeorgus, 323

† 'Actiue parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre,

daunsinge, leapying, runnyng, shotyng, shypping. Pancraciastes. Et pancratius: tij, ang. he that doth exercyse suche actiuitie. 1522. R. Huloet. Abcadarum.

† 'Garde, purfle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bourders or trayles fynely wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber. Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or welte whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, Segmentum; and that whiche is also garded, pursled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, Segmentatus, a, um.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities

Got-money, drunken, not spent on the church, 152

Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony

GRAFTON the Chronicler, praisd by

G. Harvey, 42* Grime, 67, adj. grim, fierce

Grograins, 32, sb. pl. a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, grograines," &c., 231 Groping and vncleane handling in

dancings, 155

Grosly, 23, adv. plainly, unrefinedly

Grosser, 53, adj. thicker

Guage, 123, sb. security, pledge

Guilte, xii, pp. gilt

Guise, 31, sb. manner, habit.
"The Norman guise was to walke and get up and downe the streets." Lambarde's Peramb. of Kent, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, Descript. of England, I. 168

Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling Gun-shooting, game at, 316

Guys carrid about on Saints' Days, 332. 'Images caried aboute in pageauntes wyth greate chekes and wyde mouthes. Manduces.' 1552. Huloet.

Guyses, 63, sb. pl. customs Gyrdlestead, 60/24, sb. waist. "Gyrdell stede, faulx du corps." Palsgrave

Habits of the young men, 252 Hainous, 80, adj. hideous, odious. See Haynous Hair, fashions in wearing †, 67-69; sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68, 258

Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47*; cp. 149

Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88 Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward, set forth to

Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242 Harbers, 88, sb. pl. arbours

Hard fare wholesomest, 103 Harde-quilted, 55, adj. padded stiffly

Harlots and brothels, 280

Harlots and Bastards come to church on the yearly Feast-day. in Germany, 340

Harlots use face-painting, (q. v.) 65; their impudence, 75, 280; their great number, 88; punishment of, 281

HARVEY, Gabriel, on Stubbes and other writers, 42*; chafft by T. Nashe, 308: abuses Nashe, 42*-

Hasardour §, Chaucer's, made 'disesour,' dicer, by Bp. Babington, 90* Hatbands, rose, 240; of goldsmith's work, 246

Hats, diversities of, in England, 50, 240, 241; new fashion of wearing no bands to them, 51, 243; dish-crowned, 252

Hautie, 63, adj. proud, haughty Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182

Haynous, 28, adj. heinous, odious. "Haineux. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."--Cotgrave

'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shak-spere, in *Rich. II*, *III*, *Cymb*. &c. 'The king he,' &c.

Head-dress of women, 253

Heare, iv; Heyre, v. sb. hair; Heir,

Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's Guls Hornbooks, 1609,

T FOR DUSHY BAIR, and With feathers in it. See Dekker's Guls Hornbooks, 1009, ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

† 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires." Aquarioli.' 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlotte whyche medleth wyth a man for a farthynge. Quadrantaria.' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. Zucarinatæ mulieres.'—ib. § Besides Hasarder, Aleator, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. Vide in Lurker.' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sley men, Grassator. Lurkers, called hasarders. Vide in hasarders.' 1552, Abecdarium.

Hell, the reward of pride, 39 Helthfuller, 103, adv. more healthily, with better health Hens offerd to St. Vitus, 339 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341 Hermaphroditi, 73 HERRICK, on May-games, 305 Herring carrid on a pole on Ash-Wensday, 331 Hethnical, 177, adj. heathenish HEYWOOD praisd by G. Harvey, 42* 'His, for possessive 's, 75, l. 10, 11, &c. Hoast, 84, sb. host, company Hobbyhorses, 147, 231 HOLINSHED the Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*; one of Stowe's insertions in his Chronicle, 65*, note Holsome, 65, adj. wholesome: 'Holesome, incolumis . . saluber.' 1552. Huloet. Holy Days, how spent by folk, 344; see Sabbath Holy-water, barrels of, through St. Blase's bone, 329 Home-keeping folk, 22/11, 233 Hoops of women's dresses, 263 Horses gallopt on Christmas Day, in Germany, 325 Hose, extravagant fashions in, 56, 61, 239, 246, 251; trunk, 56, 246; cost of, 56, 61 Hot-cockles, the game, 316 HOWARD, Lord Henry, Earl of SURREY, poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 43* Howleglasse, 41*, a rough jester Howsinge, 283, dwelling, tenement Hufcap, 150, 307, sb. strong ale Huftie-tuftie,† 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly Huggle, 97/13; 281, v. hug, cuddle HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on

his Day, 339

Humaine, iii, adj. human. 'Humayn, as of man, Humanitus, humanus.' 1552. Huloet. Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, not so calld till 1603, 72*; Q. Elizabeth's procession to it, 71*. See too engraving and woodcut by the title-page Hunting and hawking on Sundays, 181-2; now, 48* Hurly-burlyes, 328/266 Husbands, 115, sb. pl. economizers Husbands, future: their names found out by Onions, and their natures by faggots, 324 Idle Jesting and Scoffing, Bp. Babington against, 87* Idleness, Acts against, 320 Idolaters, Papists are, 342 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate chil-Imbrodered, 77, pp. embroidered Immured, 23, pp. surrounded as with a wall Impale, 124, vb. inclose, fence in Impe, 111, sb. child Implicate A, entangled F., 139 Impolished, vi/24, pp. unpolisht, unrefined Importable, 58/19, insupportable Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a

potion, adj.
Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with

Incident, 90, adj. proper, suitable Inclosures, 117, 289

Incorporate, 44, adj. incorporated,

united. See Ingenerate

Indented, 77, pp. with the edges worked

Indifferentlie, 35, adv. without distinction: 'Indifferently, indiscriminatim, Passim.' 1552. R.

Huloet nferreth, 168, pr. s. brings in.

Inferreth, 168, pr. s. brings in, induces

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your huftie tuftie can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knauery: your railing is so neare the Rascall, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603). [A"coy Jame's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."] p. 11, col. 2.

Infirm, 95/31, vb. weaken: 'Infyrmed. Infirmus.' 1552. Huloet

Ingenerate, 44, adj. engendred. In English the adjective in -ate formd directly from the Latin pp. preceded the verb in -ate, which was formd from the pp., and the final -d was added to the already - existing adjective from a mistaken idea that it was a pp. formd from the verb. Thus in Shakspere we find consecrate (Titus And. I. i. 14); create (Midsumm. N. Dream, V. i. 412); articulate (Hen. IV., V. i. 72); felicitate (Lear, I. i. 66), &c.

Ingrate, 23, adj. ungrateful Ingrauen, xii, pp. engraved

Ingurgitate, 104/2, v. drink heavily, swamp, fill to excess: 'Ingurgitation of meate and dryncke, or beastely feadynge. Alogia.' 1552. Huloet

Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of the *Anatomie* (1583) simplified in the 6th (1595), 62*, 63*

Inough, Ynoughe, 46, adv. enough. A.S. genoh.

Insaciablest, 102, adj. most insatiable

Insolency, 57, sb. excess, outrageousness

Intellective, 107, adj. intellectual Interest or usury should not be taken on loans, tho' allowd by law, 124

Interludes, bawdy, and other trumperies, 180; 140

Intestine, 24/5, adj. inward, innate

Intirelie, 225, adv. heartily, earnestly. See Entierly

Inuegled, 68, pt. s. inveigled, enticed

Inuisories, 80/5, sb. pl. masks Invested, 38, pp. clothed

Irish, a game, 316 Irish costumes in Q. Elizabeth's

time, 95*
Irrationable, 92, adj. without reason, not rational

It, 44/8, its

Jaques & Orlando, 50*
Jarnsey, 57/7, adj. Guernsey
(yaru); cp. Gearnsey, 76/22
Jephthah's daughter's dancing, 161
Jew who died in a privy rather
than violate his Sabbath, 139/13;
300

Jewellery, excessive use of by women, 79, 271 John, St., walks before the Holy

John, St., walks before the Holy Bread on Corpus Christi Day, 338/113

John the Baptist's Day, customs on, 339

Judgment, sounding of the trumpet at the day of, 24, 233 Judgment-Day near, 87

Judgment-Day near, 87 Judgment of God on swearing, 135, 295 Judith and Holfernes, 162

Judith and Holfernes, 162 Jumping hedges and ditches, 316

KIFFIN (Maurice Kyffin the poet), praisd by G. Harvey, 43* King of Twelfth Day, 326

KIRCHMAIER (or Naogeorgus), Thomas: account of him, 322; the Fourth Book of his Popish Kingdome, 323-348

Kissing, 260, 313; kissing and bussing at plays, 144 Kissing hands in saluting friends,

247 Knacks, 74, sb. pl. tricks Korked, 77, adj. corkt (shoes) Kyrtles, 75, sb. pl. gown, jackets

Lace, use of, 74, 264
Laced, 49, adj. coverd with lace
Laced mutton, 240, whores
Lacedomians, the, on Dicing, 176
Lacing of women, tight-, 264, 77*
LAMBERT, (? a poet, or Wm. Lambarde of Kent), praisd by G.
Harvey, 43*

Lambs, 2, offerd on St. Agnes Day, Jan. 21, 327

Land turnd into apparel, 245 Landlords, hard, denounst, 76*, note: see *Poor*

Largeous, 105/17, adj. free, openhanded, liberal

LATIMER, Bp, on dicing, 317 Latrones, 119/21, sb. pl. thieves Latter - Day - Pamphlets (T. · Carlyle's), commented on, 49*

Laughing and fleering at plays,

Lawrell pall, xviii, the laurel crown Laws against vices should be enforst, 86

Lawyers and their tricks, and pillage of the poor, 117, 289, 92* Lazy habits of women, 274

Leapfrog, the game, 316

Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38*

Leather, 37/20, 38/4, 48/5, 237; skin; En cueros, in leather, in buff; usd by Cervantes and Quevedo: see Dict. of Spanish Academy

Leaude, 89, adj. lewd

Legittimats, 97, children born in wedlock

Lent, fasting and customs in, 331 Licensing of books: abuses in,

69*, 185 Life: 'my life for yours,' 171

Light-brain, sb. 250, idiot, goose Litter, Queen Elizabeth carrid in one, by 6 Knights, 71*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, Lectica.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium

Liveries and Retainers, evils of too

many, 86*
LLOYD, Lodowick, calld Floide, and praisd by G. Harvey, 42*
Logatinge, or Loggets, the game,

316 London,† whoredom in, 283; other evils, 77*, 191,* 288, &c.

Looking-glasses the devil's spectacles, 79; in hats, &c., 271

Loose-hanging gowne for looselying body, 271 (foot), 270, 178, 93*

Lord of Misrule, May-Games, &c., 146-150, 251, 304

Lothsom, 111, adj. loathsome, filthy

'Love me, love my dog,' 178. Cotgrave, under both aimer and chien, gives Bertrand for Stubbes's Jean: 'Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien: Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we).' Lovers court St. Andrew, 341

buy girls fairings, 340; give em pippins at the theatre, 304; green gowns on Mayday, 305

Loyting, xi, sb. loitering, lounging about

Lubbers, idle, 145

Lubricious, 71 margin; wanton, fickle

LUPTON, T., on grasping landlords, 76*, note; on cruel using of the poore, 288; drunkenness, 285 Lurdens, 138, sb. pl. idle vagabonds Lyllie-white, 53, adj. purely white

MACHIAVEL'S instructions to his son, 276-9

Madrid (Spanish leather) gloves, 251 Maids, tradesmen's, used as lures,

Maistered, 122, calld 'Master,'

Malmetie, 112/3, Malmsey Maltbugs lugging at liquor, 307 Manchets made with holy wine, 325 Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose

garment without sleeves, or if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands (Knave of Harts, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old mandilions." See also Harrison, I. 168

Manure, 36, v. work by hand March paynes, Tartes & Custards, 325

Margarets, 70, sb. pl. pearls. "Margery, perle. Margarita." Prompt. Parv.: see Mr. Way's note

Markets and Fairs on Sundays, 182-3

Marriage, the object of, 91

Marrid men thrasht if caught at Brothels, 345

† London:—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to Eugland . . by Iohn Carre, Citizein of London . . . 1573. 8vo. bk. lr. 11 leaves,' Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 108.

Martin chain, 250 St., his day, 340 Masking, mumming, bowling, and such like fooleries, 173 Masks, 272; use of by women, 80, 271, 272 Master: every Tinker and Swineherd must be calld so now, 122 Mastives and bandogs, 178 Material Hell, 188 Mault-wormes, 107/9, sb. pl. drunkards. See Nares, s. v. comp. I Hen. IV. II. i. Maundy Thursday, customs on, 333 Maw, a game, 316
Mawmets, 75/8, sb. pl. puppets, dolls (cp. Rom. & Jul. III. v.). See Prompt. Parv. (Mawmet, Ydolum, simulacrum) and Wedgwood, s. v. Maycocks, 101/11, sb. pl. meacocks, effeminate, spiritless fellows. See Shakspere, Taming of the Shrew, May games, the fruits and dangers of, 149, 305 Maypole, its bringing from the woods, 149, 306 Medietie, 104, margin; moderation Meditations and Prayers, Stubbes's, 215-230 Meeres, 124, sb. pl. bounds, limits MELCHIOR, Reginald, 52* Melitean, Maltese, dogs, carrid in women's bosoms, 268 Men, absurd dress of, 239 Merchants' tricks to get high prices, 118 Middest, 55, sb. middle Middlemen, mischief of, 46* MILWARD, Mrs. Katherine: Stubbes dedicates his Pathway to, in 1592, p. 213 Mincedness, 78/25, mincing man-Mingle-mangle, 34/17, mixture, variety Minions, 70, sb. pl. affected minxes Minstrels and Musicians, 171 Minstrels pipe up a dance to the devil, 172 Misrule, Lords of, 146 Mizzeled, 87/19, pp. muddled, con-

fused, fuddled

365 Mockadoes, 231, 244 Moe, 66, adj. more Molestations, passions, 162 Money, mischief, and gains of, 291-2 Monkey waist, a woman's, 256: see Lacing Momentaine, 115, adj. short-liv'd, brief Mopsies, 147, sb. pl. sweethearts MORE, Sir Thomas: anecdotes or bits by him, 297, 310 Morris-dancing, 316 Moses, and the Jews' whoredom, 123 Motherwort, or Vervain garlands on John the Baptist's Day, 339 Mow, 145, vb. grin scornfully, mock MULCASTER, Richard, head master of Merchant-Taylors' School, praisd by G. Harvey, 43* MUNDAY, Anthony, praisd by G. Harvey, 42* Munidnol, 136, Londinum, London Music in England, its dangers and fruits, 169 Musk, sweet scent, 78, 269, 270 Mutenie, 84, sb. mutiny, insubordi-Naboth and Ahab, 121 Naked breasts of women, 78, 255, 267: see 'Bare breasts Namely, 176, adv. especially NAOGEORGUS (Thomas Kirchmaier), 4th book of his Popish Kingdome, 1553, englisht by Barnabe Googe, 1570, on Popular and Popish Superstitions, 322-348; his Works, 322 NASHE, Th.: Anatomic of Absurditie, 232, 320; his abuse of Stubbes in it (1590), 39*, and in his Almond for a Parrat (1589), 37*; is well slangd by Gabriel Harvey, 41*-43*

Neckerchers, 70, sb. pl. neckties Nekershofewe, the 2 Dutch Drunk-

Nether-stocks, fashions in, 57, 76,

77, 247, 265, sb. pl. stockings

Newfanglednesse, 31, sb. love of

ards of, 113

new inventions

Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, sb. pl. new fashions. 'Louer of newe fangels, and trifles. Elucus.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium New-Year's Day, customs on, 325 Nice, 158, adj. foolish

Nicelings, 79/14, sb. pl. dainty crea-

tures

Nicenes, 58, sb. daintiness Nicholas, St., his gifts to children,

Nichols, Mr. J. G. on Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, 72*

Nifles or paltry stuff, 235 Night before May day, spent by girls and men in the woods, 149,

305 foot Nine-holes, a game, 316

Nippitatum, 63, 150, sb. a cant name for strong liquor, especially ale. See Nares, s. v. 'Pain benist de la S. Cy. Wine, good liquor. Nippitatie.' 1611. Cotgrave

Nisitie, 103, sb. daintiness, squeamishness

Nobility, true, springs from virtue,

Noddie, a game, 316

NORDEN, John: quoted, on pride in England, 236-7

NORTON, Thomas, joint author of *Ferrex and Porrex*, praisd by G. Harvey, 43*

Nusled, 101/17, pp. pamperd Nusseled, 54, pp. nuzzled, cuddled, pamperd

Oaths and cursing, 129-136, 294,

Obnubilate, 78/16, v. cloud, darken Obtestation, sb. 131, calling to witness. 'Obtestation. obtestatio, onis, it is properlye wher one taketh God to wytnes, Et obtestor, aris, to take God to wytnes.' 1552. Huloet

Obtused (dulled, F.), 170 Ointment to grease Lawyers' fists

with, 117, money Onions: husbands' names found out by, 324

Ordinary, 2-shilling, 75*, note
Orlando and Jaques, of As you
like it, 50*

Ornaments worn as head-dresses by women, 69, 258
Ostenting, 30/7, 5b. showing off, boasting, Lat. ostentans
Ostrich feathers, 253, 270-1
Othersome, 60, adj. some others
Ouches, 67, sb. pl. ornaments, jewels. See Mr. Way's note in Prompt. Parv., s. v. Nowche

PAGE, Wm., his right hand cut off, 54* note

Ouermuche, 34, adj. excessive

Padded shoulders, women's, 254
Pageants playd by Maskers, on
Easter-Day, 336, and Corpus
Christi Day, 337-8

Painting of women's faces, 64, 80, 271, 273: see Sibbersawces Palled, 88/8, adj. surrounded with

palings
Palls of St. Agnes's lambs' wool:

Bishops forct to buy, 327
Palm Sunday, customs on, 332
Paned, 56, adj. formed of stripes, with small panes or squares of

with small panes or squares of silk or velvet Panther smells sweet to beasts

only, 40*

Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239, sb. pl. slippers, patterns. "A shooe called a pantofle, or a slipper, crepida, sandalium." — Baret's Alvearie, 1580. Baret also gives the form Pantaffle. 'Short-heeld pantoffles,' 37* 16

Papist Bloodsuckers, Stubbes's 8 lines on, 64*

Papist Superstitions and Customs on Saints' Days, &c., 323-348 Papistes and professors of Papisme,

Papists keep stews, and don't care for Apostles, Moses, &c., 344-5; they hate Heretics, and persecute em, 346; call the gospel 'Turkish,' and defame its Preachers, 347; are no more 'Catolics' than Turks and Moors are, 347

Paraphrasting, 167, commenting Pardons given away on the yearly church-festival, 341

Parent's neglect to train their children properly, 75, 265, 82*

Paris Garden, Southwark, 296 PARRY, Dr., treason of, 1585, 65* Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings, Parted, 76* n. having good parts or abilities, clever Particularities, 56, sb. details, minute items Partlets, 70, sb. pl. ruffs or bands worn by women. "Amiculum, A neckercher or a partlet." Withals. Partlet, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman's ruff. Dunton's Ladies' Dict. 1694, in Nares, ed. 1859; with other quotations. 'Partlet, Strophium.' 1552. Huloet Paste, 112, pp. past Pastyme themselves, 131, amuse Patrociny, vii, 27, patronage Peacemeale wise, 39* (at foot), in pieces, tatters Peaking, 51, pr. p. running to a peak or point Pearking, 50, pr. p. (? peaking), rising into a peak Pedagogie, 37/32, sb. instruction, example, guidance Pelts, 36/21, sb. pl. fleeces. Peltyng, 72/9, adj. violent, furious Pendices, 35/11, 67; sb. pl. hangings, vails, pendants Pen-and-inkhorn Sir John, a game, 316 PENNELL, Francis; judgment on his serving-man, 57 Perfumes and musks used by women, 77, 266, 269 Permissive law, a, 123/16 Perpended, 124, pp. weighed, considered Perriwincles, 69, sb. pl. periwigs, wigs Pesteruing, 102, pr. p. ? = pestering, crowding Pestiferouse, 45, adj. pestilent Pet dogs, 268 Pezants, 40, sb. pl. peasants Phantasies, 50, sb. pl. fancies Philip's, K., leather, 243, Spanish leather (boots) Pick, vb. 184, pitch, throw Picktooth in a fops's mouth, 78*n.

Pies, 87, sb. pl. magpies. 'Pve byrde. Citta, æ, Pica, æ.' Huloet Pigeons, white, flown on Whitsunday, 337 Pillage and pollage, 116 Pinched, 50, adj. with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form pinked Pinions, 73, sb. pl. skirts Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, sb. pl. small thin-soled shoes. 'Pynson, Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, æ; Tenella, æ. Pynson wearer. Osatus, a, um.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium Pipers and bawdy Minstrels thought more of than Divines, 172 Pippins given to girls at theatres, Pirrus, 46, pr. ncun, Pyrrhus Pithonicall Hidraes, 130 Planets and Stars' influence on men, 323 Plash, 115, 168, sb. pool, puddle Players, masking, you painted sepulchres, 141; idle lubbers buzzing dronets, 145; beggers, roagues and vagabonds, 146, 301-4 <u>;</u> 83* Playhouses, Theatres, and Actors, 140; their great naughtiness, 144, 301 Plays: curse those who say Plays are equal to Sermons, 144; the evil of them, 83*, 85* Pleated, 59, pp. plaited Plowman's fine dress, 244 Pluresie, 108, sb. pleurisy Poals, 97, sb. pl. poles, trees Poll, 116, pr. pl. plunder, rob Pollage, 116, sb. plunder, robbery. 'Pollynge or pillynge. Exactio.' 1552. Huloet Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots, 77*, note Pomanders, 77, 266, sb. pl. kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes,

266, and Halliwell, s. v. 'Po-

mander or sweete perfume. Dia-

pasma.' Huloet

Pope of Rome, that Italian Philistin, and archenemy of all trueth, 161/3

Poor, bad treatment of, 59, 105, 116, 169; house and land got from them, 119; 249, 250; lie dead outside London walls, 288

Port, 117, sb. state, behaviour Potestates, 33/21, sb. pl. those in authority, the powers that be, men in high places

Powlyng, 117, pr. p. robbing, cheat-

Prayers, Stubbes's, 224-230; babbied by Papists, 343

Preacherz sumwhat too sour, 69* Prejudicing, 182, doing harm to† Preparaunce, 72/21, sb. preparations President, 118, sb. precedent (see Huloet below)

Pretely, 87, adv. pretty well, tolerably

Preter time A, former ages F, 166/2 Pretie pussie to huggle withal, 97 Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Stafford and Harrison I., New Sh. Soc.

Pride, 26; the cause of all evils, 27, 234; is tripartite, 27, 28, 234; vainglorious, 29; in England, 33, 235, 236; hell, the reward of, 39; the child of proud apparel, 44; punishment of, by God, 85, 86

Priests, the head revellers at the yearly Church-festivals, 340 Primacie, 94, 5b. headship, priority Prisoners 'lying in lothsome dung, wurse then anie Dogge,' 127, 293

wurse then anie Dogge, 127, 293
Prittle-prattle, the evils of it, 93*
Procession or Rogation Week,
beating the bounds in, 336-7
Profanation of the Sabbath and its

results, 137, 297, 298, 344 Profluous, 105, footnote 13, bounteous, extravagant Promulgate, 48, pp. promulgated, published. See *Ingenerate*

Proper, 72, adj. fine, handsome:
'Proper, feate, and well fashyoned. Concinnus. Elegans..
Proper man. Graphyrus uir.'
1552. Huloet.

Proud apparel deformeth man, 40; does not always cover wisdom, 41; abhorred by the godly, 45; condemned by our Lord, 48

Proverbs and proverbial phrases: A dunghill gentleman (upstart), 122; a good companion too trauayle withall, is in-steade of a Wagon, 22; as drunk as apes, 151; as drunk as rats, 151/3 n.; as mad as March hares, 151; as quick as a Bee, 96/61; as round as a ball, 126; maie saie blacke is their eye (impute blame to), 96, 130, 152; butter would not melt in their mouthes, 89; by hooke or crooke, 75; dance the wilde Moris in a needle's eye, 171; farre fetched and deare boughte, 33; feight dog, feight beare, the deuill part all, 178; go together by the eares (come to blows), 118; laugh in their sleeues, 118; loue me, loue my dog, 178; make bones of anie thing, 178; more is the pytie, 41; shooe the goose (undertake impossibilities), 117; stand on their pantoffles, 53; tagge and ragge, 43; three steppes and a halfe to the gallows (ruffs so calld), 53

Pseudo-christian, sb. 182 Puff-wings, 260 Puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs; women's,

Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99,

282
Puppits, 75, sb. pl. dolls
Puritan embroidresses, 245; laun-

teous, extravagant dresses, 260

† Preiudice, praivditium, ij, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contraye to the lawe. ¶ It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, whych remayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determyne and discusse semblablye; Or els it may be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called

bokecases, recited in the yeres [Year-Books] whiche be as precidences; and thereof commeth thys verbe praiudico.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Puritans abusd by T. Nashe, 39* Pursie, 107, adj. fat, bloated Pusels and fusles, of women's dress,

Pussle (pucelle), 78/3; 266, sb. a maid, girl, drab, I Hen. VI. I. iv. "A Pusle, A Puzzle [prob. of poesele, Du.], a dirty slut." Bailey's Dict., ed. 1737, vol. ii.

Puttockes, 116, sb. pl. kites, avaricious persons

Quaile, 124, *vb.* sink, fail Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, adj. squeamish, dainty Quavemire, 115, 168, sb. quagmire,

bog

Quirks, 57, sb. pl. the same as clocks, q. v.

Rabbied, 122, pp. addressed as Rabbi, master

Rackte rentes, 76,* note: see Landlords

Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636

Ragged-School anecdote, 49*

Rapiers, gay, 62, 252 Rattes, as dronke as, 113/18;

151/3, notes

Ravished in (with) her behaviour,

Rayling, ix, adj. railing, mocking REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of Stubbes's tracts, 58*

Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop, (S. Gosson), 258; "Porte-fraise, m. A Rebato, or supporter for a Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered, and cut into diuers panes." 1611.

Cotgrave. See Supportasse Redintegration, 90, sb. renewal Reduce, 25/19, bring back Refelled, 40/21, refuted

Refelleth, 160, pr. s. refutes Refrain men from, 137, restrain, rein back: 'Refrayne, Cohibeo, contineo, reprimo.' 1552. Huloet

Reguilte, xii, pp. regilt Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328 Renowmed, 167, renowned Repentance, not to be put off, 190 Repentants, who are true, 189

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

Reproched of, 176, reproacht by Resolue, 79, v. solve, answer, explain

Retainers, evil of too many, 86* REYNOLDS, John, poet, &c., praisd by G. Harvey, 43*

RICH, Barnaby, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*

Rich men eat vp poore men as beasts doo grasse, 117

Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291

Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide, 330

Rich, the benefit of being, 238, 291-2

Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116

Riueleth, 95/33, pr. s. wrinkles: Ryueled, 74/26, pleated

Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on

Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300 ogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting after-Rogation wards, 336-7

Roisteth, 41, pr. s. acts riotously. Harrison, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. "They ruffle and roist it out. Tusser, Five Hundred Points, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has "roister-like."

Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343

Rose in a dandy's ear, 77*, 94* Rose shoestrings, 240

ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316

Ruffle, 45, pr. pl. dress grandly. See Roist.

Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71*

Rugges, Ruggs, 33, sb. pl. rough cloths

Running, play at, 316 Rushbearings, 310, n.

Russet, 50, adj. reddish-brown; russet boots, 253

Ryall, 57, sb. a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

Ryot, 39, sb. profligacy Ryueled, 74, pp. wrinkled

Sabaoth, xi, 136, sb. (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, Advance of Learning, 11. 24; and in Spenser, Faery Queen, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit, of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in Ivanhoe, ch. x.

Sabaothli'te, 173, Sabbath-like Sabbath, profanation of in Ailgna; 137; God's judgment on the profaners of it, † 179; fairs and courts held on the, 183, 296, 298, 312, 344, 78*; works to be doneon, 140

Sabbath-breaking,† 136-140, 177; God's judgment on, 179, 180, 182; shaving held to be, 313

Saciete, 104, sb. excess Saints' Days, customs on :— St. Agnes (Jan. 21), 327

St. Andrew (Nov. 30), 340 St. Blase (Feb. 3), 328 St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340

St. John the Apostle (Dec. 27),

St. John the Baptist (June 24),

St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325 St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4),

339 St. Urban, 338-9 St. Vitus (June 15), 339

Saints, Pageants of :-

St. Barbara, George and the

Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day

Sarcenet, 32, sb. a thin, slight kind of silk

Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205 Sate, 77, pp. sat

Saturday Review and swearing, 46*, note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50*, note

Scabbed and scuruy companie of dauncers, 167

Scarfs worn by women, 79; by men, 243

Scarsly, 60, adv. scarcely

Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78

SCHARF, Mr. G. on Q. Elizabeth's

Procession in 1600, 71* Schoolmasters and Boys, sing on

St. Martin's Day, 340 Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly,

Scotch daggers, 250 Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128,

Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312

Seelie, xix, adj. simple. A.S. selig Semblable, vi, adj. like, similar: 'Semblable, Idem.' the neutre gendre of Isdem, and some time signifyeth the same man, or the same thyng.' 1552. Huloet

Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women: Sempronia, that renowmed whore, 167, l. 2 from foot Sereous, 88, adj. serious, import-

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :--'' If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holiedaies, shall be found in the alchouse or taverne, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churcheyarde, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offende, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seeinge

the performance therof.

'If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarilie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute."—From the Cecil Papers in the 27th Volume of the Lansdowne Col-

lection in the British Museum.

lovers, 276 SHAKSPERE: on men's dress, 44*, his Cuckoo-song, and Wordsworth's contrasted, 45*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his Venus and Adonis carrid in girls' bosoms, 268 Shirts, 53, 245 Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77 Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose, Shooting out of doors, turnd into gulling and whoring indoors, 317 Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252 Shove-groat, a game, 316 Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30 Shurts, 53, 245, sb. pl. shirts Sibbersawces, 67, sb. pl. washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: also Slibber Sawce † Sidenes, 56, sb. width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the anckle. Talaris.' 1552. Huloet Sielie, 225, adj. simple Signitor, 138, pointer, index

Sermons, an excuse for meeting |

Silver hilts to rapiers, 252
Simples, 65, sb. pl. specifics
SINGLETON, printer of the Gaping
Gulf, 1579, 54*
Sin, the origin of, 24; two kinds of,
27, 233
Sir Ihon, 151; the priest. Chau-

cer's Dan Johan
Sixpenny rooms (boxes) at theatres, 302, n.

Skittles, playing at, on Sundays, 300

Slabbering, 78, adj. Slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold, 163; 'slabberings, bussings, and smouthings,' 165 Slaightes, 118, sb. pl. tricks Slashed, 56, adj. cut Sledge-hammer, throwing the, 316 Slibber sawce, 105, footnote 2-2, buttery, oily, made-up sawces Slops, big breeches, 246-7 Slut, 51, sb. a sloven Sluttered sutes, 40*/6 Small, 106, adj. poor, weak (drink) Smick-smack, 269, kissing Smouching, 155, 165, sb. loud smacking kisses Snowball playd, 330 SNUFFE, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, 270, 307 Sockets: musicians are 'drunken sockets and bawdye parasits, Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c. Sodomites, 145, fornicators Sodomitical, 153 Solomon on dancing, 164 Somedeal, 53/8, adv. somewhat, rather Spagnolized (pincht-in) body, 77* Songs, bawdy and profane, 171, 185, 314-316, 319; and ballads, 185, 320

Sour sauce, 96, 98
Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251
Spare, 105, adj. stingy, sparing
Sparkled, 71, pp. sprinkled:
'Sparple here and there, segrego
... spargo.' 1552. Huloet

† Slibber sauce: this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce. Wherein is explaned the wilfull blindnesse of subtill mischiefe, the striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. Nulla pietas prauis,—At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a woonder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry collours, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of slibber sauce, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayned modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Ægypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrtes then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchauntments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap fooles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besotteth other with these bitter smyles."—Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 28.

Speare, sphere (note), 50, sb. spire, steeple Spicke and spanne, adv. quite, entirely Spirits shut up in Crystal, as Charms, 344 Splendente, 39/11, splendid Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, vb. garnish Spoke, pp. 188, spoken Sports on Sundays, 136, 140, 296: see Sabbath Spurs, gingling, 242 Square-toed shoes, 252 Stage-plays and Enterludes, 140; unlawful, 142; the cause of much mischief, 145, and Notes, 296, 298, 301-304, 83*, 85*; Nashe's allusion to players, 39* STANYHURST, poet, &c., praisd by G. Harvey, 42* Starch, use of, 52, 71, 238; made of various colours, 52; the devil's liquor, 70, 260; yellow, 236 Starcht ruffs and rabatas, 51, 242 Stationers' Registers: entries of Stubbes's books in, 55*, 56* Stays, abuse of, by women, 262; 77* Stelliferous, 79/23, adj. lit. starbearing, bright, radiant Sternes, 51/9; 68/5, sb. pl. standards (so glosst in F. at p. 68) Stews, or Brothels, kept by Papist Priests, 344-5 Stile, match at running to one, 316 Stimule or pricke, sb. 90 Stinginess of the rich to the poor, 104, 288 Stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection, 156 Stint, xiv, vb. cease, stop. astyntan Stiptick, 98, adj. bitter, astringent Stockings (netherstocks), fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 265; extravagance in, 57, 247; silk, 246

Stoolball, a game, 316

Store, xviii, adj. in numbers STOWE the Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42*; inserts Parry's trial in Holinshed's Chronicle, 65* note; quoted, 54*, 248 Stride-wide and lift-leg, 307, strong alc Strosser (trouser), close Italian, 243 Stub-bearded, 269 STUBBE, John, of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579, 53*, 54* STUBBS, Mr. Henry, 51*, 74* STUBBES, Ph., his wife's life, 197; her death, 208; her contest with the devil, 205 STUBBES, Phillip: T. Nashe's stories of him and his diceplaying, 37*, 39*; and his court-ing a widow for his friend Clarke, 38*; defended and praisd by Gabriel Harvey, 43*; his motives and character, 36*, 43 to 50*, 69*-71*; the fleas and gnats that gnawd him in bed, 221; his care for dumb creatures, 50*; his Meditations and Prayers, 71*, 215; his father mentiond,† 103/3; his marriage and wife, 51*, 52*, 193-208; her boy John, 51*, 200; her repentance for loving her dog too much, 202; her belief, 203; her abuse of Satan, 205; her visions, 207; her death, 208; popularity of her Life, 74* His Works :-

Anatomie, Part I. (1583), 35*, 37*, 40* (T. Nashe on); 39*, 60*, i—xx, 21-192; inkhorn words changd in the 1595 ed., 63*; the 1584 ed., 95*

Anatomie, Part II. (1583), 35*, 36*, 64*

A Christal Glasse: his Life of his Wife (1591), 66*, 74*, 193-208

A fearefull and terrible Example (1581), 56*

† On the 'Godly simplicity of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his sidenote here, See Chap. XXVIII, ''Of the rudenesse and rusticitie of our Ancestors in sundrie things,' p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englishing of Stephen's World of Wonders, 1607: "we will easily graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful]: so that they yeeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked." STUBBES-his Works:

Intended Treason of Doctor Parrie (1585), 65*

Lines on Popish Bloodsuckers

(1583), 64* Motive to good Workes (1593), 67*

Perfect Pathway to Felicitie (1592, 1610), 66,* 71*, 209-30 Rosarie of Christian Praiers, 1583 (no copy known), 64*

Theatre of the Popes Monarchie, 1584 (no copy known), 65* Two wonderful and rare Exam-

ples (1581), 58*
View of Vanitie, 1582 (no con-

View of Vanitie, 1582 (no copy known), 60*

Stut, 107/15, stutter: 'Stut or stamber. Balbucinor. . . Stuttyng. Tertiatio uerborum.' Stutter [one who stuts] Balbus. . Stutter [one who stuts] in readynge, whyche staggereth, and can pronounce no good Englysh, &c. Offensutor. 1552. Huloet. He has also 'Stamber, Titubator; Stamber, Titubator; Stammer and stamber, Idem.'

Successe, 41, sb. succession: 'Successe. Processus, us; successus.' 1552. Huloet.

Succinctorie, 48, sb. girdle. Lat. succingere, to gird

Summer halls, bowers, and arbours for the devil's agents, in the Churchyard, 147

Sunday sports and Sabbath-breaking, 136-140, 177, 180, 182, 183, 226, 298; 331-404; 78*-81*: see Sabbath

Sundays profaned by games and plays, 137-140, 297-301 Superiall, supernall, 126

Supportasse, 52/11, sb. wire-frame to support folk's ruffs: see woodcuts, and Rebato

Surcease, vii, 114, vb. leave off,

cease. Not connected with to "cease," but from "sursis," which is from surscoir, Lat. supersedere. It is a legal term meaning the arrest or stoppage of a suit, or superseding a jurisdiction. Cf. Macbeth, I. vii. 4, and Romeo and Juliet, IV. i. 97

Surphling of women's breasts, 257; faces, 271; washing them with cosmetics (Nares), ? painting or enamelling

Surprised, 33/1, overtaken SURREY, Henry Howard, Earl of, praised by G. Harvey, 43* Sute, 48, 50. suit: see Sluttered Swearing, great in England, † 120.

Swearing, great in England,† 129, 136 (this chapter not in 1st ed.), 294

Swearing, when lawful, 131; punishment of, 134, 136, 296 Sweeted, 79 margin, scented Swilbowles, 86/32, sb. drunkards Swill, 104, 173, v. drink in excess Swords, extravagant fashions in, 62, 252

Tables, 173, sb. pl. backgammon, 37*. 'Table-playing. Alea.' 'Tables to playe wyth dice and men. tabula.' 1552. Huloet

Tabling, 174, playing at tables, back-gammon

Tabretters, 172, players on the tabret (157/6), small tabour

Tagge and ragge, 43, phr. of the lowest class, 238

Tailor, a woman's, 247, 260 Tapers, big, lit on Candlemas Day,

328 Tarantara, Christ's, 24, sb. a word used to represent the blast of the trumpet

Tarlton, Dick, the clown, and his big slops or breeches, 246, 247. (He is Spenser's comedian 'pleasant Willy,' in Teares of the

† "If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemer or comon swearer, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shall bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havinge only duringe that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the Monthly Mag., 1813, Aug. 1, vol 36, p. 43-

Muses, 1590, according to the Tradeswomen, how to get presents nearly contemporary entry in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's folio, Spenser) Tartarian, and mercilesse Turck, Tea-gowns in 1878, 93* Tear, 118, vb. bluster, protest Tennis, 173, 316: 'Tennyse game, or playing at tennyse. Speromachia.' 1552. Huloet Ten-pins, a game, 316 Than, adv. then Theare, iii, there Theatre, The, James Burbage's, 143, 299, 300 Theatres, a meeting-place for men and women, 144, 304; and actors, 140-150, 301; not wanted open on Sundays now, 47* Thend, 138, the end, the purpose Theopompus and Moses, 141, 300 Thetherward, 85, adv. thither Thripple, 153/10, vb. labour hard Tick-tack, 269, copulation; a game, 316† Ticktack tauerner, 78*/21, keeper of a tavern and brothel Tigerlike saying of Creditors about their Debtors, 127: see Dice Tight-lacing, evils of, 262, 263, 77* Time wasted by women, 87, 274, 276 Titiuillers, 122, sb. pl. flattering fellows Tittle-tattle, the evils of it, 93* To the purpose, 180, for the purpose Tobacco, 78* Too too, 75, adv. exceedingly, over: see Telltroth, 37/8, 82/16, &c. Tokens of the coming Day of Doom, 188 Tongues, flattering, blearing men's eyes, 92* Torteouse, 36, adj. deceitful Tossing a guy in a blanket, 330

Toty (fuddled) with drink, 284

Tract path, 41*/24 (T. Nashe)

87, 276

Tradesmen's wives used as lures,

from, 279 Transnatureth, 54, pr. s. changes (their) natures Travelling players, evils of, 301 TRAVERS, Walter, alluded to by T. Nashe, 37* True-looues knottes, 74, sb. pl. bows of ribbons Trumperies, 180. 'Trumpery or old baggage. Vide in baggage' (above). 1552. Huloet Trunk hose, 56, 246; sleeves of wire, 261 Tung, 48, sb. tongue, voice Turd carrid on a cushion, 330 TUSSER, praisd by G. Harvey, 42* Tutche, 84, vb. touch, reach Tutched, vi, pp. touched Twelfth-Day, customs on, 326 Twell, John, of Donnington, 58* Twist, 76, sb. twig, bough. "A twist : frons." Catholicon Angl. Twopennie Catichismes, 40* Tyborne, 233, gallows Vgglesome, 72/13; 188, 205, adj.

hideous Vnbowable, a. 76, unbendable Unchastity, temptations to, 84*,76*: see Dancing, Music, Stage-Plays Vnconcluded, 176 Vnderpropped, 52, pp. supported, propt up Vnlest, 43, conj. unless Vnreasonable, 92/27 adj. unreasoning, incapable of reasoning, not endowd with reason Upsy-freeze, the German's, 286 Vre, 118, sb. use Usury, and the treatment of the poor, 288, 292 Usury in England, 119, punishment of, 120; unlawful, 124

Vagaries, 49/21, circumlocutions and generalities Vaile, 51, sb. veil Velvers, viii/18, 231, a kind of woollen velvet

^{† &#}x27;In this lande I did see an ape plaie at ticke-tacke, and after at Irishe [see Irish above] on the tables with one of that lande. -1573. Bullein's Dialogue, in Wheatley's Dict. of Reduplicated Words: 'Ding-Dong Dictionary,' the 2nd ed. is to be calld.

Velvet, viii, xii, 32; its derivation, | &c., 231; visors made of, for women to ride in, 80, 272 Vendicate, 26, 185, challenge, claim Venereous, 74/4, lecherous Veins painted on women's skins, 255 Velvet scabbards for rapiers, 252 Vent, 129, sb. a market, disposal Venter-poynt, a game, 316
Venus and Adonis (Shakspere's) carrid in girls' bosoms, 269; the modern play or burlesque of, 47*, Verses in commendation of the author, xiv Vertiginie, 62/3, sb. giddiness, unsteadiness, weathercock nature Vintners' God, St. Urban: his festival, 338-9 Vice, in Plays, 146 Victimates, iv, l. 6 from foot; 168, victims Virtue, the reuerence due to, 41; maketh gentilitie, 42, 236-7; is the comeliest ornament, 46; is not hereditary (Chaucer), 327 Visors, 80, 272, sb. pl. masks Vizard, 130, 271, sb. mask

Waists, women's tight-laced, 256, 77*, n. Wakes and feasts, the abuses of,

152-3, 309-313

Wakeesses, 137; Wakesses, 152, sb. pl. wakes, feasts: 'Wakedayes. Esuriales feriæ.' 1552. R. Huloet Wanion, 183, sb. in a wanion = a curse on it

Wanton Looks and Books, † 84*; 144, see Bawdy

WARNER, WATSON, WHETSTONE, poets praisd by G. Harvey, 42* foot, 43*

Weale publique, 34, sb. commonwealth

Welts, 73, sb. pl. hems on borders of fur

Whalebone bents to bear out women's bums, 254; bodies, and backs of lath, 261, 262; stays, 77* Wheel, blazing, run down a mountain on John the Baptist's Day,

WHETSONE, G., on Dicing-houses,

Whipt, 52, pp. wound round, covered

WHITE, Rowland, on Q. Elizabeth's procession to Blackfriars, June 16, 1600, 71*

Whitsun-ales or Church-ales, 150,

Whitsunday, white pigeons flown

on, 337
'Who' (relative) left out, 147, "I haue knowen diuers [who] haue in short time become decrepit and lame: " frequent, earlier

Whoredom and Brothels in England, 88, 90, 280; God's curse on, 91; punishments fort, 94, 281, 282; unpunished in England, 101; the cause of beggary, 97; whores kept in taverns, 78* Whylest, 76, adv. whilst

Widows and fatherless oppresst, 92*

Wife, a young, describd, 270-1 Wine turned to water on Christmas-Day, 324; hallowd on St. John's Day (Dec. 27), and sold, 325

Wings on a man's dress, 241, 246; on a woman's, 260

Winking and glancing of wanton eyes at plays, 144

Winter and Summer, guys of, made to fight, 332

Witches kept off by frankincense smoke, 326 Wives' treatment of husbands,

† 'Want onwordes. Bellatula: as iolye, pretye, fayremayde, minyon, swetcherte, pyggesnye,' &c. 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium. See 'Dearlynges,' p. 356, col. 1.
‡ "It happed that a yong priest very denoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwarde solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchaunt sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus: Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod

I, it were pitie but that an euil priest were punished. But yet it is as muche pitie that we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame."-Sir T. More's Works, p. 26, ed. 1557. -R. Roberts.

275†; they live by whoredom, 101, 283 Wolf, sign of, in Cheapside, 275 WOLFE, Reginald; his printing-

house, 38* Womanish, 171

Womanisheth, 170, makes effeminate, weak

Women, extravagance of, in dress, 63-68, 74, 253-265; paint their faces, 63-65, 254, 257; wear false hair, 68, 258; fashions of in England, 71, 259; fashions of, in other countries, 82, 274; how they spend the day, 87, 274-6; their character ‡, 255; motives,

274; imitate men, 77* WOOD, Antony (or his informant), on Phillip Stubbes, 53*

WORDSWORTH'S song on the Cuckoo, and Shakspere's, 45*

Worship, 103, sb. position, honour Worshipful: who entitled to be so calld, 122

WORTH'S dresses, and gimcracks, 236

Wranckled, 136, pp. rankled, festered

Wrestling, 316, 319 Wyers, 52, sb. pl. wires

Yarne, 57, sb. yarn
Ydiocie, 110, sb. foolishness
Ydiotacy, 41, sb. folly, stupidity
Ydlenes, xi, sb. idleness
Yellow Band, a dandy's, 253

——— Starch, 235
Yeomen affect the dress of their superiors, 52, 244

Young men: how their day was spent, 252-3 Youth, work neglected in, 86*

† Cp. Huloet's explanation of the word *Honeymoon*,—because its sweetness is sure to change, like the moon does:—"Hony mone, a terme pronerbially applied to such as be new maried, which wyll not fall out at the fyrste, but thone louet the other at the beginning exceedingly: the likelyhode of they rexceadynge loue appearing to aswage, the whiche time the vulgar people col the hony mone. *Aphrodisia, feriæ, hymenæ." 1552. *Abcedarium Anglico-latinum pro Tyrunculis. *

""I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse

this was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. Is anything lighter than a woman?" 1617. Fynes Moryson. Itinerary, p. 13.









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